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the progressive newsweekly

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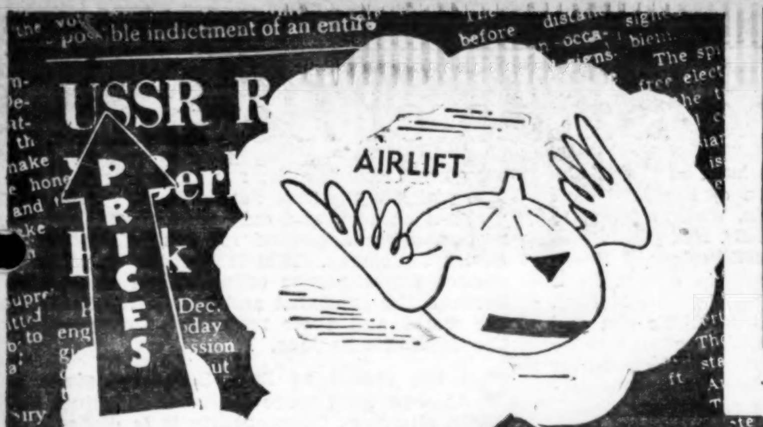
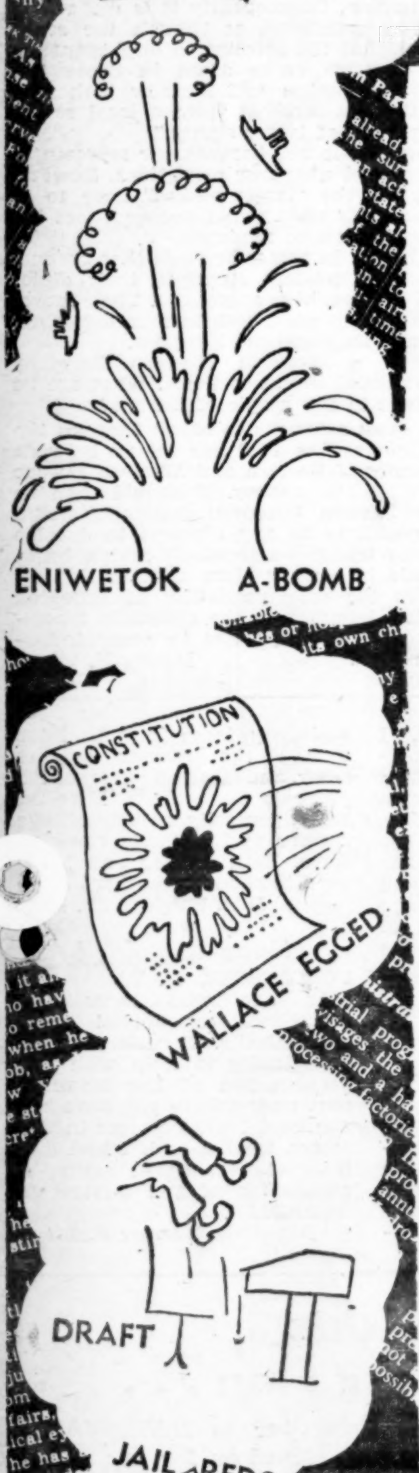




By Henry A. Wallace

The Challenge of 1949

THE year 1949 offers progressives a challenge and a great opportunity.

The people voted for lower prices, low-cost homes, expanded social security benefits, price supports for farmers, free collective bargaining for trade unions, equal rights and opportunities for the Negro people, civil liberties and an end to witch hunts for all Americans.

In voting for these things, the American people thought they were voting for peace.

And in a sense they were because this program cannot be realized, even in part, until the cold war is ended and a stable and democratic peace organized.

The Wall St. military crowd, which still holds power in Washington, is trying to distort the mandate of the people. The President himself has reaffirmed policies which will inevitably betray the mandate he has received.

- He stands committed to a rearmament program of at least $15,000,000,000. Militarily, this program is meaningless: taxpayers' dollars pay for the expensive overhead of a de luxe military establishment. Politically, it extends the power of the military and big business over the people. Economically, it points toward a war economy which will slash living standards.

- The Administration is rushing completion of the North Atlantic Military Alliance. This anti-Russian coalition is a military fiction. Few in Western Europe believe in it, as American correspondents have frequently pointed out. It will tighten Wall St.'s grip on ERP countries, drain still further the taxpayer's pocket, constitute a political liability and a menace to world peace.

- The President has retained in office the two men—Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Robert Lovett, Acting Secretary of State—who represent most clearly the policies decisively repudiated by the people. Their conduct of military and diplomatic affairs is leading the United States into a blind alley internationally, and forging the chains of a police state at home.

This combination of an ambiguous rearmament program, outdated and politically harmful military alliances, and incompetent military and diplomatic leadership means that the new Truman Administration takes over all the liabilities of the old Administration and that it is without any constructive plan.

IF the people's mandate is to be realized, the people will have to organize and fight for it.

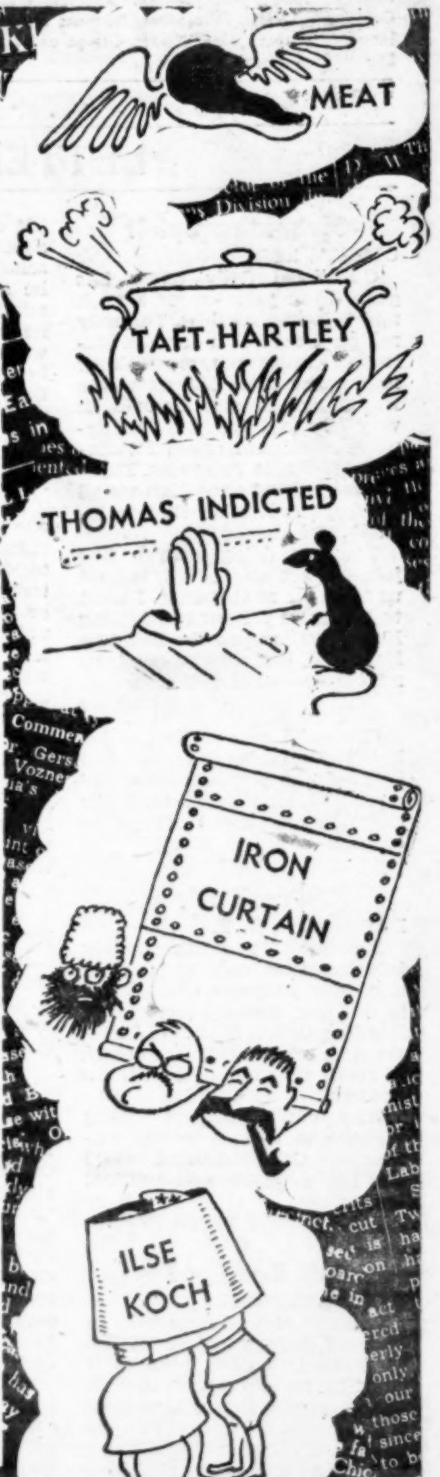
The Progressive Party will be in the thick of that fight. We understand that the fight for homes, for low prices, for social security, is a fight for peace; and that the fight to end the cold war is a fight for a decent, secure and free life for all Americans.

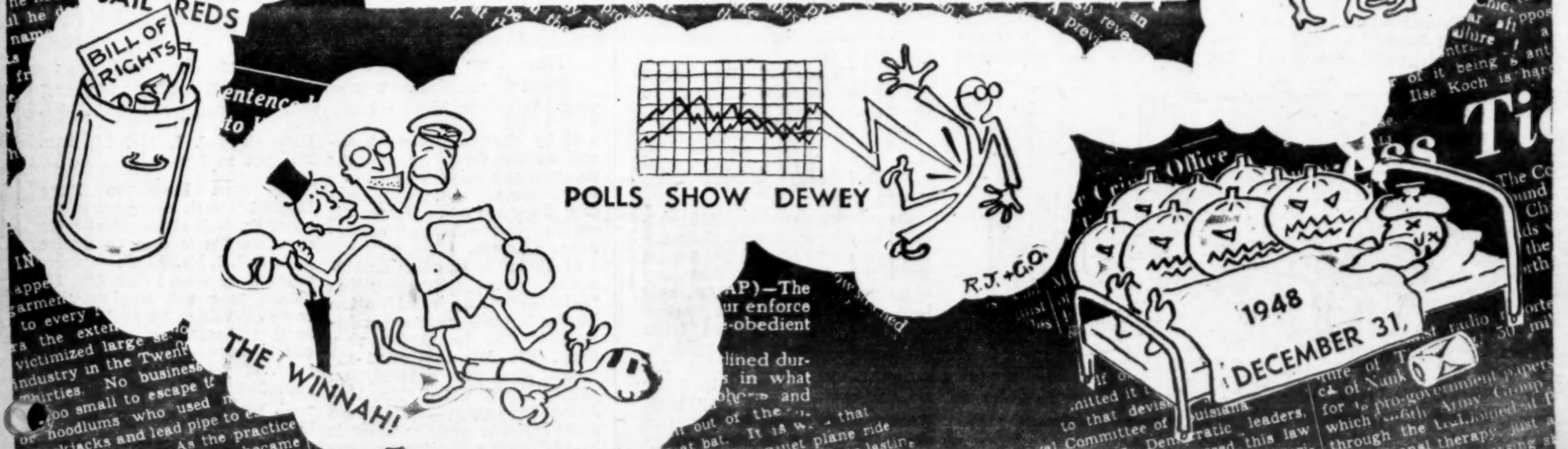
We can win this battle!

In China, the cold war has gone bankrupt on a global scale. Events there dwarf all the Administration pressures in Greece, Iran, Turkey, Trieste and Western Germany.

These developments together with the November mandate give the American people a real opportunity to end the cold war in 1949 and to begin the gigantic task of social reconstruction at home and on a world scale through the United Nations.

To this fight we progressives dedicate ourselves in 1949.





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On the Battle of Berlin

Last week GUARDIAN printed an analysis by Prof. Frederick L. Schuman of the East-West clash and deadlock in Berlin. We are happy to publish below a letter from Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus of Union Theological Seminary and authority on European affairs. In it Dr. Ward takes issue with some points in Prof. Schuman's article. It is GUARDIAN's aim and spirit to provide a forum in which honest persons can take issue with one another, to the end that truth and better understanding among progressives of all shadings may be arrived at.

PALISADE, N. J.

PROF. SCHUMAN has correctly portrayed the menace of "diplomacy by generals," and the need for taking "the conduct of policy" out of their hands.

It is necessary to remember, however, that removing the generals from diplomacy takes away a menace of method, but the basic policy remains. Remove them also from policy making and there still remains its dynamic core which calls for the development of their special interest.

As Prof. Schuman points out, back of the Berlin stalemate is the policy of a separate Germany. The core of that is separate control of the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Western Europe. By whom? The generals need its military potential in case of the war they have already blueprinted. The financiers and their political agents want its industrial potential. For what? If there were here no interests seeking worldwide economic control, would there be any "global war" strategy?

THE "tragic drift toward an ultimate test of strength by arms" cannot be altered by any change in personnel and method that has not behind it a mandate to change the economic policy from control by high finance for higher returns, to controlled development by all in the interests of all. If the American people want to prevent and avoid the atomic-bacterial war, they must now lay the axe to the root of the tree which bears that deadly fruit.

That change, and only that change, of direction offers a ground for a modification of Soviet diplomacy. This is because it offers a chance for whatever collaboration is possible between the capitalist and socialist sections of the world and their respective forces within the capitalist nations.

ON the record as Prof. Schuman gives it, Moscow tried more than we to adjust the Berlin situation. Consequently it is difficult to see why he concludes, as though the scales were equal, that the attempt to implement the Moscow directive broke down in September, because "Washington and Moscow both held back at the last moment from a local settlement in pursuit of larger stakes."

Moscow says it was because our representatives introduced nine new conditions. However that may be, the "larger stakes" have to be weighed in their nature and consequences before judgment can be rendered.

What has to be remembered is that because of the relative present strength, their diplomacy is defensive, ours aggressive. Their moves are in reaction to ours, both in regard to their national and international interests.

Obviously a separate Western Germany holds a potential threat to them. What are its consequences to the people of Europe?

The present attempts to break through the economic quarantine ERP has set up between the economies of Eastern and Western Europe are a part of the answer. It should then be plain that Eastern European diplomacy would respond positively to any attempt to develop all-European trade on a genuinely mutual basis.

It should be equally plain that in this direction lies the only possibility of lessening the conflicts inherent in the economic transition that is now in process in every industrialized nation.

Harry F. Ward

LETTERS

Nebraska Spirit

OMAHA, NEB.

Our local daily paper has gone up in price to 35c a week and it is not worth it. The only reason I take it is for the listing of radio programs. Your fine paper gives the news the way I like it, and I would be very happy if you could inaugurate a column called Recommended Radio Programs. There are more good ones than we all realize, but it takes time to locate them.

You are doing such a fine job, and are all we have to hold us together at this time. I want to apologize for our not getting Henry Wallace on the ballot in Nebraska, but we will not miss next time—we cannot afford to.

Vira Wittekind

Our radio man got lost in his living room, which he had blacked out for television. We rescued him, though. Look for that Recommended Programs column very soon. Ed.

•

Fresh Air

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I doubt if you can possibly imagine how eagerly awaited and how welcome GUARDIAN is in our home every week. Reading Cedric Belfrage, James Dugan and the rest is a breath of fresh air compared with the Peglers.

Why can't you get Henry Wallace to write a weekly column for GUARDIAN? I would also like a weekly non-political sport page.

Martin Shapiro

•

A Religion?

BAY CITY, MICH.

I was very interested in Richard Boyer's article (**If this be treason**) chiefly because it clinches an old contention of mine, namely, that communism is a religion. Its ethics is a synthesis of Judeo-Christianity and modern sociological thought, based on a scientific dialectic. If Marx had written only a scientific diagnosis of the ills of capitalism, **Das Kapital** should have remained only a scholarly economic tract, and he should have remained just another scholar. But whether he realized the fact or not, he wrote with the fervor of a Hebrew prophet, and his book, **Das Kapital,** fairly burns with the Biblical cry for social justice and dire forebodings for those who "grind the faces of the poor."

There is something for everyone in communism. For the intellectual there is the scientific approach to all social and historical problems. For the worker there is the feeling of the unity of society, and the knowledge that one has a definite worthwhile place in it. For those people with a romantic or religious frame of mind, communism has its Parthenon of heroes and saints. This, to me, constitutes a religion. Perhaps some of the orthodox Party members will disagree with me. I would like to know their reactions.

John J. O'Neil

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Regarding Boyer's article: if that be communism, then I am a Communist, though not a member of the Communist Party.

Dorothy Butler Howells

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On the Carpet(bag)

BALTIMORE, MD.

In reference to common sense about words: In the article, "How the American carpetbaggers salvaged their German cartel friends," the criticism of our German policy is entirely correct. But the derogatory connotation of the phrase "carpetbagger" is, I feel, not justified.

One of the most vicious historical lies used by reactionary forces is that during the Reconstruction the newly-freed Negroes, incapable of governing themselves, were duped and misled by rascally "carpetbaggers" who took advantage of their inherent stupidity. We progressives should not help to spread such distortions of the truth, even by unintentional indirection.

David Sheplan

The headline writer agrees 100%. Ed.

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Right Mixture

CHICAGO, ILL.

In this Age of Confusion in which the newspapers, magazines and radio have the people all mixed up, GUARDIAN is a must. The people (especially labor) demonstrated just how much they are mixed up by re-electing Injunction Harry again in preference to Henry Wallace, the best friend labor ever had.

In so doing they also endangered the peace, because as far as foreign policy is concerned, all the Republicans lost was the mustache.

Some day the American people will wake up and get fed up on red herring and propaganda, and realize there is no difference between the two old parties and go out and vote intelligently.

If that happens before the cold war knocks us all cold, we'll be able to straighten out this old world of ours.

Thomas A. Kingswood

Why not beat the cold war to the punch with a Joe Louis left hook? Ed.

•

Hoosier Voice

GARY, IND.

One of your greatest journalistic achievements is keeping the paper readable. I am a steel worker and I know that any attempt to turn GUARDIAN into a progressive **New Yorker** will only separate you from your most important readers, the workers who voted for Truman. They are misled by their labor leaders, pay high prices, don't want a war, but make the wealth in this country and are its future hope.

Living in Hoosier-land, I liked "The Free Press in Indiana." But one criticism: I would have liked a stanza on the men who built a city in the dunes, the foreigners who made the biggest steel local union in the world, and have as vibrant and colorful history as any in the nation, the good workers of Gary who make Indiana the third largest steel producing state in the nation.

Robert W. Kates

•

Farm Friends

RENSSELAERVILLE, N. Y.

It has been a pleasure to see successive articles on the farmers' problems, especially the one in Dec. 13 issue by Elmer A. Benson. For years the reactionary rural press and the reactionary farm journals have turned the farmer against labor, and labor and progressive journals have done little in reply, generally writing off the farmer as hopelessly conservative. Both farmer and labor need to know each other better.

L. A. Eldridge Jr., M.D.

•

Hope Regained

FOLLANSBEE, W. VA.

As one who hates the prostituted commercial press energetically, I welcome the opportunity to help with the perpetuation of the magnificent undertaking you have begun, and I will do more in the future to that end. I had lost hope of ever again seeing a publication of the stature of GUARDIAN.

Dermer S. Stout

Psst! Read this before you go on . . .

IF you are a Charter Subscriber to NATIONAL GUARDIAN you may have signed up for our first 13-week trial period only. If so, your subscription runs out in two weeks.

Have you renewed? If not, please do so—today!

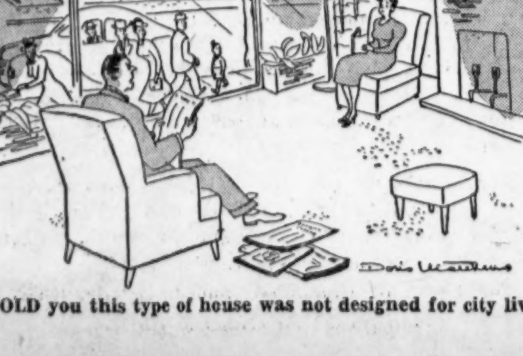
Postal regulations require that we stop sending you the paper if you have not renewed your sub.

If by chance you don't recollect the duration of your original subscription, you can tell where you stand by glancing back now to Page 12, where your subscription address appears.

If the code number underneath your address reads "1-13"—or any combination in the 'teens—your subscription is due to expire very soon. The code number "1-13" means that your subscription expires with Vol. I, No. 13—Jan. 10, only two issues away! If the code number is "1-14," your subscription runs through Vol. I, No. 14, Jan. 17. And so forth . . .

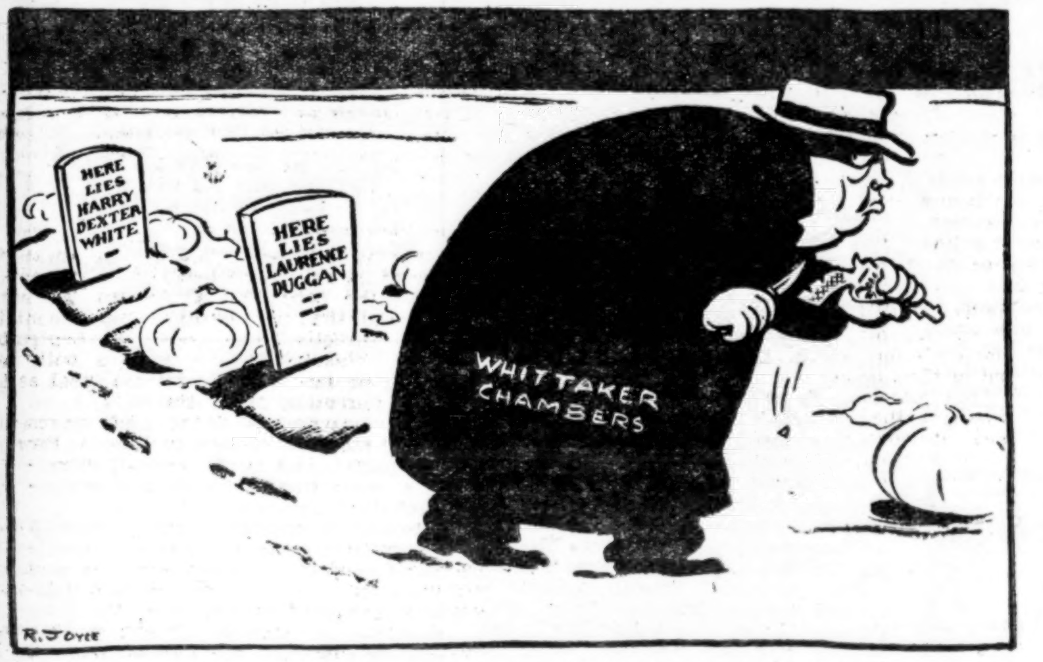
So turn back to Page 12 and check on your code number. If it shows that your subscription is due to expire with Vol. I, No. 13 or on some other date soon after Jan. 10, please tear out the mailing corner on Page 12 and sent it back to us today with your check for renewal for a full year. If you like we will bill you, but billing costs money —of which we haven't very much.

And see Page 9!



"I TOLD you this type of house was not designed for city living!"

THE NATION



"Mr. Chambers is a Quaker, you know, and he didn't want to hurt anyone."
William A. Wheeler, House Un-American Activities Committee Investigator

An editorial article

Are there murderers among us?

By James Aronson

THE newspaper clip was brittle and brown-yellow with age; it shredded when it came out of the morgue envelope. It was dated May 3, 1920, and it said: Andrea Salsido jumped to his death from a room on the 14th floor of a building in Park Row in New York, where he was being questioned by agents of the Dept. of Justice.

What the clip did not say was that Andrea Salsido had been held without charges for eight weeks. His widow charged in a suit that he had been beaten and threatened, "...caused to lose his mind and become suicidally despondent." Among those named in the suit was A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, leader of the infamous Palmer raids that swept the nation after World War I.

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LAST Monday evening at 7 p.m. Laurence Duggan "jumped or fell" to his death from a 16th floor window in New York. He had been questioned by the FBI a few days earlier in the interminable Hiss-Chambers affair.

Jumping out of windows is not new. Witch hunts are not new. But the methods have become so much more polished and refined in the 28 years of experience. Justice Dept. agents don't use fists—they are polite, suave. And within the limits of their setup they are efficient.

The Un-American Activities Committee is more crude—as are all sensation seekers and headline hunters. There are kleig lights and newsreels and excitement. So much excitement that witnesses ill with heart disease die of heart attack within a few days after they are put under the committee's kleig lights.

- Like Harry Dexter White, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, a New Dealer, a most able civil servant and decent human being.

Or they become so disturbed that they throw themselves over bannisters and down stair wells.

- Like W. Marvin Smith of the Justice Dept., who killed himself in the Department building after a session with Thomas, Mundt & Co.

THIS is not to say that U.S. agents actually were responsible for the death of Laurence Duggan. Or Harry White. Or Marvin Smith.

We don't know whether Duggan "jumped or fell." But we do know that there is a sickening fever spreading through the land—a fever of fear and intimidation and manhunt—that will drive men to desperate action and to suicide.

We do know that hundreds of little people have been hounded out of Government jobs for holding to what have long been cherished as splendid American principles: free speech, a right to think for oneself, a right to a secret ballot—at election time and between elections.

We do know that men and women with distinguished public records are being tried in star-chamber sessions, in the public press (there is irony in the word "public" in this context) by smear and innuendo.

LAST Thursday the headlines said (for example, in the New York Times): "Duggan Is Cleared by [Rep.] Nixon of Spying." Laurence Duggan never was charged with spying by a jury or by the Un-American Committee. He never was brought before a jury or a committee. **Yet he is cleared of an act of which he never was accused.**

But we are wrong. Duggan was accused—by irresponsible Congressmen; by lurid newspaper stories by inference; by those high-minded public servants who run the nation's big newspapers and send their photographers into the subway to photograph Alger Hiss, and park their reporters outside his doorstep to cover the comings and goings of his family.

Is it any wonder that people crack under such treatment? Do we need a clearer historical example of mass crackup than Hitler Germany and Anschluss Austria? Dozens of suicides were reported in those countries every day, year after horrible year. The deaths of people who just could not take it any longer—could not take the sudden visits of the Gestapo, the pretext arrests, the tales of persecution their children brought home from school.

SOME of our readers take $1 subscriptions instead of a full year. They are former Government employes — victims of the "loyalty" purge. They write to tell us that they were forced to take poorer paying jobs, and even $1 is big to them. One of our staff members tells us that a neighbor's child is being shunned by other neighborhood children because his mother is a "dirty red." She defended the right of a Negro to move into the neighborhood.

Shocked voices are being raised. There are many good organizations and individuals fighting the new terror. But they are not enough; as it is not enough for President Truman to repeat: "Red herring." The herring will turn black with foul rot—and black is the color of fascism.

THERE'S a new political season opening and there's a fine new first letter for you to write to your Congressman and your Senator. Write to him today and tell him that the first order of business of the 81st Congress is to wipe the Un-American Committee out of existence. And tell him that you're watching to see if he's going to stand up and be counted with those who are fighting to save the human dignity of America.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Death of Duggan

THE spy scare with its interminable black headlines, its hearings, grillings and exposes clattered on last week, but people were grimly reminded that the pumpkin farce was not all clowning.

Laurence Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education, and formerly chief of the Division of Latin-American Republics in the State Dept., last week plunged out of his window on the 16th floor of a New York office building.

Karl E. Mundt (R - S.D.), member of the House Un-American Committee, moved quickly to meet press deadlines. He released testimony presented in secret session 12 days earlier by Isaac Don Levine. Levine said Whittaker Chambers had named Duggan as one of six who gave him secret documents for transmission to Russia.

DEATH WATCH. When asked who else was listed by Levine, Mundt told newsmen: "We will give them out as they jump out of windows."

Former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles produced a letter from Duggan written the day before his death which seemed to him to rule out suicide.

Police records at the weekend still said of Duggan: "Jumped or fell." Incontrovertible, though, were these facts: Duggan was named by Chambers and again by Levine before the Un-American Committee; he was questioned by the FBI and he is dead.

UNSUNG, UNWELL. The retiring chairman of the Un-American Committee, J. Parnell Thomas, was ill last week with a gastro-intestinal hemorrhage. Before that news broke, he had been all but banished from the news columns since his indictment a month ago on charges of padding his payroll and extracting kickbacks from his employees. His physician would not say whether or not Thomas would be well enough to stand trial in Federal Court on Jan. 10.

MODIFIED FIRMNESS. Chief witness last week was homecoming Francis B. Sayre, U. S. delegate to the United Nations and former Assistant Secretary of State. When he landed from Paris, Sayre expressed great confidence in Alger Hiss. He testified before the Un-American Committee, then before the Federal Grand Jury in New York.

He identified three "highly confidential" documents as taken from his office. Only four persons were authorized to handle them, he said: himself, his two secretaries and Alger Hiss. Earlier he had said that as many as 20 persons had access to the papers, and that "up to Aug. 8, when I left this country, I had implicit faith in Mr. Hiss."

State of the Union

SOME called it recession; some called it depression. In any case, the old year was dying last week amid rumblings of unemployment, whoops of witchhunt, and sounding brass.

The Government was preparing to spend $100,000 to build grandstands along the route of the inaugural parade Jan. 20. Businessmen were planning to invest more than $200,000 in decorations, medallions, grand balls and whatever else it may take to simulate a popular celebration.

A BRACE OF MESSAGES. The President and his advisers early in the week were at work on the message he will deliver to the 81st Congress Jan. 5. Reports were that there would be two messages. One would review the State of the Nation and measure the lengths the President may go to fulfill his campaign promises. The second one, scheduled tentatively for mid-January, will call for broad powers in the event of war, euphemistically referred to as an "emergency."

These powers would enable the Federal government to mobilize industry, control prices, ban strikes, allocate raw materials and manpower, spread the dragnet for political opponents. The President will renew his request for Universal Military Training in one of his addresses. (A week ago it was admitted that the President's original excited call for UMT last June was based on "faulty intelligence estimates.")

PROFIT'S DISCIPLES. The lameduck Congressional committee investigating profits of large corporations heard and agreed with big business representatives who claimed that profits were never as large as they seemed.

The Dept. of Commerce announced last week that

Continued in wide column on next page.

The gun that came to dinner

6 million Americans producing for war

By Victor Perlo

THE Christmas shopper felt the pinch of scarcity and high prices. The marketing housewife feels it daily. More and more goods are being kept off the civilian market or appear at ever higher prices.

This is why.

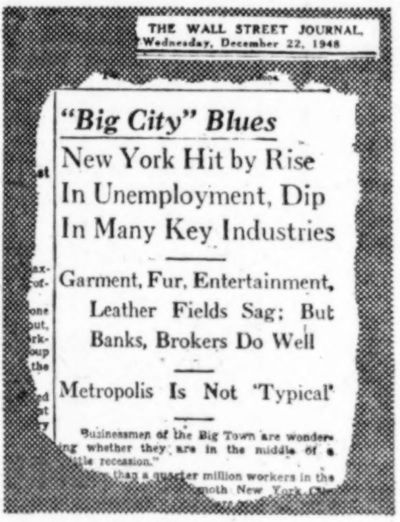
Christmas, 1948, found 6,000,000 Americans, one-tenth of the labor force, producing the materials of war. The number grows daily and the fruit of their work goes into the maintenance of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the production of warplanes, stockpiling, the rebuilding of Germany, intervention in Greece and China.

Last crop year about 15% of the nation's food production went for export and military use. This year's European crops have been good, and the export market is shrinking, despite Marshall Plan dumping. That is an important reason for the recent slight decline in food prices.

THEY'LL TRY. It will take real ingenuity to find ways of raising food prices through the cold war next year, but Congress and the Administration have demonstrated their skill at this before.

Early this month, an Army general announced to grateful clothing manufacturers that the Army will double its procurement of clothing. The military will take from 20 to 30% of men's clothing production. Obviously, the 3% of the nation's men in the Army cannot use that much clothing—but the industry needs markets and artificial shortages to keep retail prices moving up.

Metals are the key to durable goods. Last summer the Munitions Board doubled the rate of copper stockpiling, and the copper trust increased prices $40 per ton. At present 10% of our copper production is going into military stockpiling alone, in addition to that used for munitions production and cold war exports. Altogether, perhaps 25% of copper shipments are going into the cold war. With metal and petroleum prices rising sky-high, it is no wonder that four years after the war, working people still can't think of a new car.



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Wednesday, December 22, 1948

"Big City" Blues

New York Hit by Rise In Unemployment, Dip In Many Key Industries

Garment, Fur, Entertainment, Leather Fields Sag; But Banks, Brokers Do Well

Metropolis Is Not 'Typical'

"Businessmen of the Big Town are wondering whether they are in the middle of a little recession."

CALL OUT THE RESERVES. In 1948 the **undistributed** profits of corporations—going into reserves—reached the unheard-of sum of $12,000,000,000—more than the total profits of any prewar or wartime year. At the same time the average workingman had to use up 40% of his savings just to keep afloat.

This lopsided economics is threatening to pay off in a whopping depression. Despite cold war prosperity, Christmas season retail trade was lower in 1948 than in 1947. And unemployment showed an ominous upturn in November, as reports of layoffs in consumer goods industries flooded the financial pages at the year's end.

The "moderate" Truman answer is to step up the Marshall Plan 25%, increase the military budget 25%. But Defense Secretary Forrestal and his big brass call for a direct military budget of $23,000,000,000—almost double this year's budget. The financial pages hint that the plan is for some shadow-boxing between the "peaceful" President and his "warlike" Secretary of Defense, which will end with a "compromise."

WHAT PRICE PROSPERITY? This may hold off the depression, but at the cost of greater monopoly power, more inflation, a situation where labor can hardly squirm without being accused of sabotaging national security, and $5,000,000,000 in added taxes.

Militarism

By Alfred Kreymborg

No one praises the last war,
Not even those who made it,
For they have had time to calculate
The cost and those who paid it.

But there are those who'd love to ride
High over peace and trade it
For the fastest war the marketplace
Ever invested in our race,
Doubling their fortunes overnight,
So long as they don't have to fight,
And we can be persuaded,
Or goaded and paraded.

Ten percent of our national income isn't so much. Spent on housing, on public works, on social security, it would not make a dent in supplies for the public, and would actually stimulate production and industrial expansion all along the line.

But spent on war preparations, with the military and big business manipulating the program for profits and the creation of shortages, it is a decisive weapon against the American people—even though it isn't getting anywhere against the Administration's enemies in China and Greece.

With the present budget, production of actual fighting war materials is still in first gear. Truman's "minimum" program would almost double the procurement rate of munitions—and put war preparations into second gear. It would bring us much closer to the point of militarists' power from which there is no turning back, no upshot but war.

Victor Perlo was for many years an economist in the U. S. Treasury Dept. and other government agencies. He has written extensively on economic problems.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

this year's corporate profits, before taxes, will hit $35,600,000,000—breaking all records. Profits for the last two years, each a record breaker, were: 1947, $18,100,000,000; 1946, $12,800,000,000.

Witness C. E. Wilson, president of General Electric, admitted that his company was spending $1,000,000 a year to "counteract" activities of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). Wilson advised the Congress to do nothing to upset current trends.

Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Dem.-Wyo.) suggested that Congress tried doing nothing about similar conditions in 1929. They argued for one hour, then:

O'Mahoney: I want to assure you that I have no personal mistrust of you.

Wilson: I am very gratified to hear that.

O'Mahoney: I had hoped you might say the same for me.

Wilson: I'll pass.

Russ Nixon, UE's legislative representative, told the committee that what was needed was another of Roosevelt's 100 days (1933): price rollbacks, wage raises, public works, an excess-profits tax and relief from low-income taxation. The committee was unimpressed. It seemed that Roosevelt's 100 days required Roosevelt.

Old hat

FASHIONABLE ELEPHANT. The elephant wanted a new look for Congress' opening day. Among other things it wanted a new Senatorial hat, but last week the old one was perched in its accustomed place. Senator Robert A. Taft (R-O.) announced that he would not step down from party leadership so that a "liberal" might take over. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R-Mich.) declared that he would stay as foreign-policy maker. Whereupon Kenneth S. Wherry (R-Neb.), party whip, said that he would not be the "only goat" to be sacrificed to the elephant's taste for high fashion.

"AND TO ALL..." Last Wednesday the President emplaned for Independence, Mo., and his Christmas dinner. He turned to his well-wishers and said: "I hope Santa Claus brings you everything you want."

The trip, minutely chronicled by newsmen trailing the

Continued in wide column on next page.

Press Curtain opens a crack on Trenton – 3,000 miles away

By William A. Reuben

THE United Press office in Trenton, N. J., is within easy walking distance of the state death house where six innocent Negroes, convicted of murder and sentenced to die, wait for their appeal to be heard.

A thorough check of the papers revealed no UP story on the case until last week, when they carried the story of these men datelined: London, England. That UP found its news not under its nose but 3,000 miles away is typical of American press coverage.

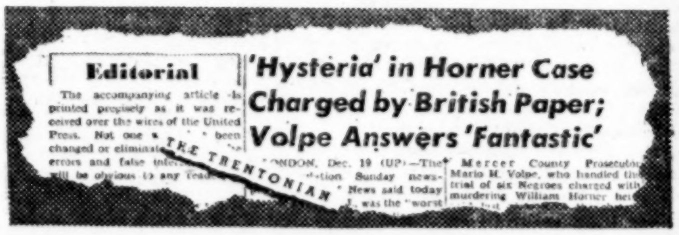
The trial of these men began last June and continued for 55 days. Trenton newspapers gave it routine coverage.

In August the six were sentenced to death. The New Jersey edition of the **Daily Worker**, in two stories, pointed out contradictions in the state's case. No national publication, no metropolitan daily touched the story.

ENTER GUARDIAN. Throughout September the law's course was left to grind its way in silence. In October GUARDIAN began publication, and in its second issue, told the first full story of the case. The story of the frame-up was rounded out in each succeeding issue of GUARDIAN, but still no other U.S. newspaper touched it.

On Dec. 12, the **Daily Worker** caught the story and followed up with another piece a week later. The rest of the nation's press was still silent.

PAPER CURTAIN. But overseas, the London weekly, **Reynolds News**, wrote to me care of GUARDIAN and asked me for an exclusive story on the Trenton case. **Reynolds News** printed the piece a week ago under a four-column headline. From **Reynolds News** the UP finally picked up the story and broke through the paper curtain on this side of the ocean.



Editorial

The accompanying article is printed precisely as it was received over the wires of the United Press. Not one

THE TRENTONIAN

'Hysteria' in Horner Case Charged by British Paper; Volpe Answers 'Fantastic'

The UP dispatch did something in Trenton that a score of protest meetings, 10,000 petitions to Governor Driscoll, vigorous community action had failed to do. The **Trentonian**, one of the two dailies in town, again found the case newsworthy.

The paper carried the UP story on Page 1, and in an adjoining column an editorial on the matter. Hitherto unaware of **Reynolds News**, the paper questioned everything about it, including its certified circulation of 720,000, which they found in **Editor and Publisher.**

Said the **Trentonian** (circulation, 25,467): "The term 'certified' can mean almost anything, sometimes even an unsupported statement by the publisher. We know nothing else about the paper, nor did we ever hear of William A. Reuben, named as its correspondent." (**Reynolds News** is one of England's largest mass-circulation weeklies, published by the British Cooperative movement and appearing regularly for the last 100 years.)

UNDERCOVER. The editorial continued: "The **Reynolds News** attack on Trenton coincided with a similar attack in the New York **Daily Worker**, organ of the U.S. Communist Party. . . . We have known for some time of an undercover Communist crusade to martyrize the convicted Horner killers and to turn the Horner killing and trial into another Scottsboro case."

Not only **Reynolds News** has found the Trenton case newsworthy; **Action** in Paris and other European papers have picked up the story. The pattern recalls other celebrated cases of injustice in America (especially the Sacco-Vanzetti case) when Europe became indignant before America.

O. John Rogge, Progressive Party leader and former special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, is expected to enter the legal battle for the Trenton six, GUARDIAN learned last week. He is known to be reading the records of the case and conferring with leaders of the Civil Rights Congress.

The 81st Congress

This is the way it shapes up

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

FROM where I sit, here in the capital before the curtain goes up on the 81st Congress next week, it looks as if the pre-November promises of Democrats will sound unmistakably hollow by midwinter. Even the "liberals" may be sheepish about the bandwagon ride they took last fall.

Here's how the key issues line up:

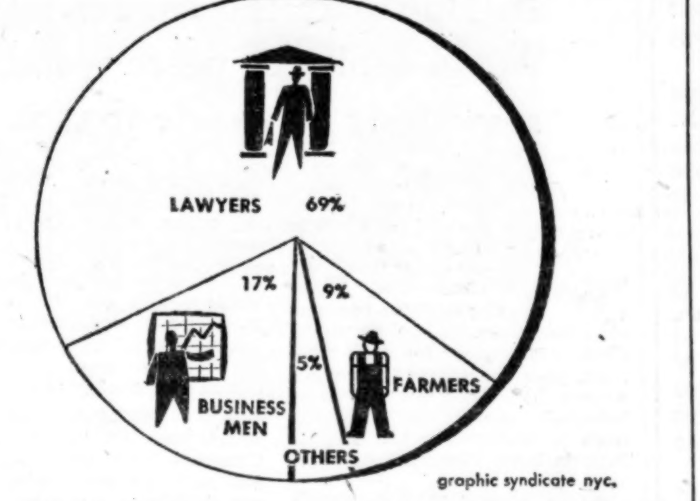
ARMAMENTS. The President may ask for a "moderate" rearmament budget of $15,000,000,000; the Big Brass will press for $23,000,000,000. There may be a "compromise," but even the $15,000,000,000 will set us firmly on a war economy. (See Victor Perlo, Page. 4)

PRICE CONTROL. The glimmer of a break in prices and the unmistakable business slump are being used as crowbars to pry the President loose from his pledges to restore controls. The fact is that the rearmament program, whether Truman's large size or Forrestal's great economy size, will keep prices high.

WITCH HUNTS. The House Un-American Activities Committee will be dressed up to look pretty, may even become a joint committee on civil rights, but the end product will probably retain the same dangerous powers of the present committee—unless considerably more popular pressure is generated.

CIVIL RIGHTS. Much depends upon the first few days in the new Senate. Wayne Morse (R. Ore.) has said he will move to change Senate rules on the opening day to make it possible to shut off a filibuster by majority vote. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R. Mich.) has suggested that 90% or 95% of the voting senators be required to close debate. The Vandenberg rules would allow a filibuster against a Fair Employment Practice Act, an anti-lynch bill, an anti-poll-tax bill. It would keep Glen Taylor from staging a fight against Universal Military Training.

Congress may outlaw the poll tax and lynching but will probably leave FEPC alone out of deference to the lily-whites.



This is the makeup of the Senate of the 81st Congress. The cut of the pie should make labor sit up and take notice.

Attorney General Clark may succeed in legalizing wire tapping in espionage cases. (How do you know whether or not it's espionage until you tap a wire?)

LABOR. The Taft-Hartley law will be repealed, but many aspects of it may be reenacted in new legislation. Ways will be found to bar "Communist-dominated" unions from fair treatment in collective bargaining. The Administration will certainly retain some kind of injunction rights in a "national emergency." (Remember Truman's plea to Congress to draft striking railroad workers). The closed shop may be legalized, but there will be a stiff fight to retain the ban on "secondary boycotts."

Labor may make some gains, but will get nothing like the "Magna Carta" Wagner Act. The reason is that labor itself, CIO and AFL, joins in red-baiting and "class cooperation."

FOREIGN POLICY. Marshall Plan appropriations will be voted, though not so big as had been anticipated a year ago. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) may get help from a few others in pointing out the devastating effects of Marshall Plan operations.

TAXATION. If any excess profits tax bill is passed it will be a soft one that will take back only a small part of the gravy big corporations extract from the taxpayer through Marshall plan and "defense" exependitures. The income tax may be revised to give the lowest brackets enough of a break to make the Democrats look good.

FARM. The question before Congress is whether price floors for farmers will be "flexible" (which is no guarantee at all) or set at 90% parity which worried farmers clamor for. Farmers will also watch progress on international grain agreements.

HEALTH. The American Medical. Assn. is raising a fund of $3,500,000 to fight a Federal insurance bill. Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing will press for the bill this session. In any case it will take 10 years to get a program fully under way, even with the smoothest legislative cooperation.

Salesmen, farm workers and possibly some others may come under a broadened social security system.

By and large, it looks like a rough year for us. It could be rougher for the generals, the armaments manufacturers and the profiteers, but only if the Progressive Party and a couple of other groups go into action when the gavel pounds on Jan. 3, if not sooner.

Politics can be fun too. This is a scene at the meeting of the Young Progressives of America the week end of Dec. 18. Seated from left to right are David McCann, newly elected co-chairman of YPA; Hadassah Linfield, sister of Seymour Linfield, a national director of YPA; Mrs. McCann.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

Presidential plane in a Constellation of their own, was smooth but slowed by headwinds of 50-80 miles per hour.

His simple homecoming was efficiently noted, too. As he stepped out of his plane the President's wife came forward and kissed him on the cheek. Said the President, smiling his pleasure: "How do you do."

And by evening high school girls were caroling on his lawn.

Marzani case

DURING the war Carl Aldo Marzani prepared top-secret reports for the Allied High Command, helped pick targets for the Tokyo raid of General Doolittle, and produced films to stimulate war production. In November, 1946, he resigned his post at the State Dept.

He began work on a film for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. The film was critical of the State Dept. and of some practices of big business. On Dec. 20, 1946, one month after he resigned, Marzani was fired. When the film was completed, Carl Marzani found himself charged with concealing Communist affiliation while he worked for the government back in 1941.

He was convicted of fraud by a Federal court on June 27, 1947, and sentenced to one to three years' imprisonment. Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (R. - Ill.) said at the time: "The latest sordid episode in the decline of human freedom is the conviction of Carl Marzani."

Last week his appeal was considered by the U. S. Supreme Court. Four justices voted to reverse the conviction, four to uphold it. A tie vote is the defendant's loss in the High Court. Justice William O. Douglas abstained.

Marzani has appealed for rehearing. If turned down, he must go to prison.

NUREMBURG, MISS. In Mississippi Davis Knight, 23, a veteran, faces imprisonment for a "racial crime." In April, 1946, the Mayor of Ellissville, Miss., performed the marriage ceremony for him and Junie Scradney.

Davis Knight has always regarded himself as white and served in the Navy as a white man. But his great-grandmother Rachel had been the Negro slave of Capt. Newt Knight. (Great-grandfather Newt Knight organized the "Free State of Jones," a group of Mississippians loyal to the Union during the Civil War.)

Word leaked out that Davis Knight had a Negro great-grandmother. Knight was arrested and tried under the Mississippi law which forbids the marriage of white persons to those who have as much as one-eighth "Negro or Mongolian blood."

Last week Knight was found guilty of miscegenation and sentenced to five years. His wife remains loyal to him; but unless the court's decision is reversed on appeal, her marriage will be voided according to the state law.

The law is not unique to Mississippi. A similar one is on the books in 29 states.

Erudite Georgia

POLITICAL EDUCATION. In Georgia the statute books were being revised last week. Education was the order of the day. Gov. Herman Talmadge called in his key legislators and advanced a plan whereby prospective voters will be required to interpret the Constitution to registrars (white.) House Speaker Fred Hand made things clear.

Said he: "Only 20% of the Georgia Negroes have passed the sixth grade in a notoriously bad school system. That is equal to about the third grade in white schools. A good educational qualification will cut out 80% of this ignorant bloc vote in Georgia. I like to think of it that way instead of going into the color angle. Under this plan it will no longer be a menace. It will fix things where we can handle it."

DEFENDER NEEDS DEFENSE. The executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress last week found himself arguing his own case. William L. Patterson went to Toronto to speak on civil rights. Canadian authorities refused to let Canadians hear him and ordered him deported as one who advocates among other things "the unlawful destruction of property." Patterson returned to his New York office to map the campaign for other people's rights — including Canadians.

THEY ALL DO IT. In New York an Appellate Court upheld the right of any housing project, public or private, to

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NATIONAL ROUNDUP

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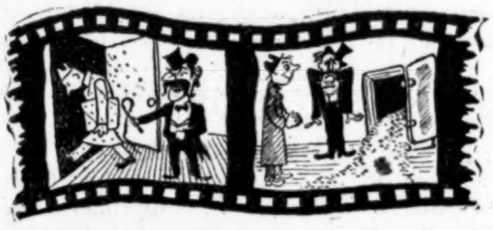
discriminate freely against Negroes. Stuyvesant Town, a pueblo-like settlement containing 8,700 apartments, was built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. with a large measure of public assistance.

Attorneys for Stuyvesant Town made this defense when two ex-GI Negroes brought suit against it: "If the private landlord does not want to rent apartments to colored persons, nothing can be done about it. We are doing no more than any other landlord in New York is doing."

"SACRED PRECINCTS." The news was better out west last week. A year ago screen writer Lestor Cole refused to proclaim his politics to the House Un-American Committee investigating Hollywood. He was held in contempt of Congress, fired and blacklisted. He sûed for breach of contract. Last week a court order restored him to his job with a salary of $1,350 a week and awarded him his back salary of $71,550. Four other similar suits are pending.

Eric Johnston, Motion Picture Producers Assn. pres., was revealed as the man who had organized the firing and blacklisting of those he termed the "unfriendly ten." Judge Leon R. Yankwich commented: "The dogmatic type of mind has long existed in the U. S., confined in the past to certain types of clergymen. Mr. Johnston has demonstrated that it has reached the sacred precincts of business."



Union vs. union

THE National Maritime Union (CIO) veering right for many months, last week took on the trappings of a boss. The once-progressive union announced that it would not renew its contract with the United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO) which has hitherto represented NMU office workers. The union contract expires Jan. 1.

In its place, NMU offered to set up its own organization for office workers. This seemed to UOPWA to be company unionism—or union bossism.

Jack Lawrenson, NMU vice-president, gave these reasons: During the war NMU had 100,000 members (it was then known as a left-wing union.) Now it has only 45,000. Pointing to the decline as a boss might point to the drop in sales, Lawrenson claimed that NMU "cannot afford to pay UOPWA's overloading wage rates and working conditions." NMU's office staff has already been cut from 165 to 72 since last summer.

While no strike threat against NMU exists at the moment, a strike is possible, UOPWA spokesmen said.

ROUGH RIGHT TURN. Another signpost in the progress of NMU was the repeated beating of a seaman who had complained to a Federal prosecutor that his union book had been wrongly withheld from him.

Early in the week James McGuire was beaten, he said, by M. Hedley Stone (treasurer) and Adrian Duffy (vice president) of the NMU. He was taken to a hospital. The next day he returned to NMU headquarters, was beaten again and knifed.

Joseph Curran, NMU president, has a court fight on his hands as well as a possible picket line. Three members, including one of the union's founders, Joseph Stack, charge him with fraudulently expelling them from the union and depriving them of their right to a job. The case comes up this week.

HE WHO QUACKS LAST. While seamen's leaders found their troubles in labor, electrical workers found theirs in Congress. Charles J. Kersten (R - Wis.), chairman of the House Labor subcommittee, charged that Russia controls U.S. electrical plants through Communist domination of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO).

Albert J. Fitzgerald, UE president, said: "It's the last quack of a lame duck who was defeated by the people at the recent elections."

No War!

In Budapest the women of the world spoke of peace—and did something to insure that it will be kept

By Ella Winter

BUDAPEST

"WE have been naught, we shall be all." The familiar song died away. Suddenly colored streamers flew out from the topmost galleries where Hungarian women had stood for six days, listening raptly to delegates from 56 countries to the Second International Congress of Women.

Green, yellow, blue streamers curled down on women from Republican Spain, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Cuba, Algeria, Sweden; Italian, Iranian, Korean, British, Rumanian, Austrian, Indian, Russian—500 women and girls, old and young; textile operators from France, gnarled and shawled Bulgarian peasants. Polish heroines of labor, weather-beaten farmers, girls from concentration camps, delegates of the 20,000,000 members of the Chinese Women's Federation.

CAN'T STOP THEM. On the last morning of the Congress the Parliament building, decked with flags and flowers and slogans, rang to the tunes of Greek partisan songs, sung by guerrilla army girls in khaki trousers standing at salute, and a Greek woman in a classic toga. It rang with French, Chinese and Korean revolutionary songs. As one delegation finished amid wild applause, another took up its country's determination in music.

I have rarely seen such fight so eloquently expressed. Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney, granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and a firm democrat of the old school, said:

"There is no stopping these women. You get the sense of their travail and assurance that they will win. They understand the causes of war; their feeling comes from the bottom up."

PEACE REFRAIN. "No more war," was the burden of the Congress. "Organize mass rallies and petitions proclaiming loudly our insistence on peace," cried Jeannette Vermeersch, whose reading of the peace manifesto stopped all business with a deafening ovation.

"No imperialist disguised as an Arab will be able to cross into our country," said the Palestine delegate.

"The warmongers say there must be war about Berlin," said the German, Maria Rentmeister—and it was the first time since 1933 that German women had come to any international conference. "A letter has been signed by 28,000 women in Berlin asking for assistance in our struggle for peace."

"Anti-fascist women greet you from their prison in Barcelona," read a Spanish delegate called Pilar. "Our republic was the first anti-fascist republic in history. . . . Despite our treatment in police cells the enemy will never break our spirit."

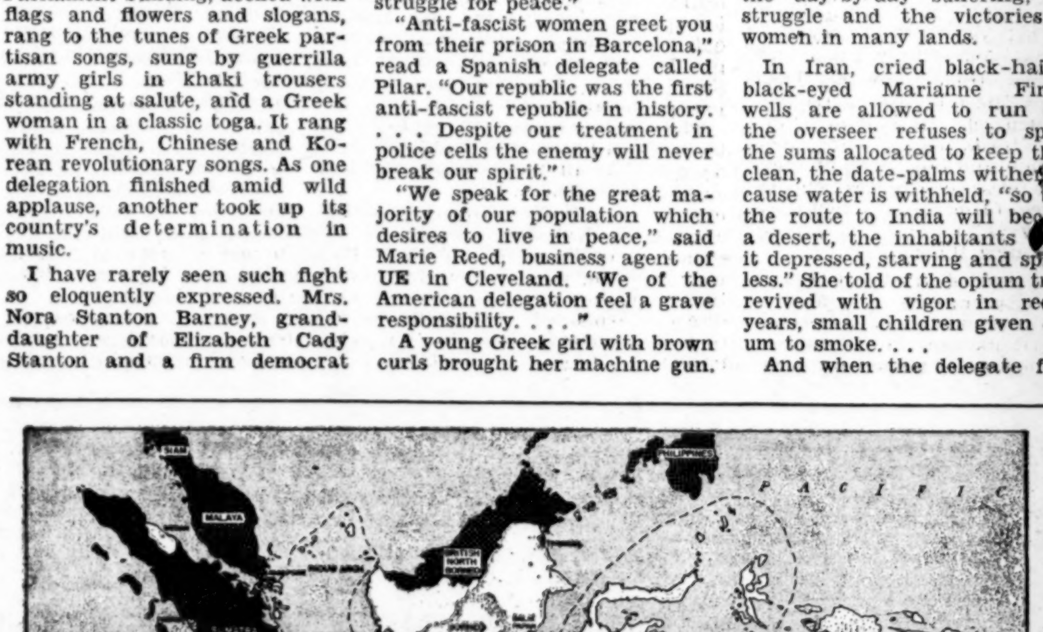
"We speak for the great majority of our population which desires to live in peace," said Marie Reed, business agent of UE in Cleveland. "We of the American delegation feel a grave responsibility. . . ."

A young Greek girl with brown curls brought her machine gun. "I have not been parted from it since 1941," she said.

TORCH PARADE. Many a time eyes were wet; not only at the emotional demonstrations, or during the eloquent torchlight procession of 100,000 shawled women marching along the Danube, their torches reflected in the twilight water—but also when reports were read telling the day-by-day suffering, the struggle and the victories of women in many lands.

In Iran, cried black-haired, black-eyed Marianne Firouz, wells are allowed to run dry, the overseer refuses to spend the sums allocated to keep them clean, the date-palms wither because water is withheld, "so that the route to India will become a desert, the inhabitants [illegible] it depressed, starving and spiritless." She told of the opium trade revived with vigor in recent years, small children given opium to smoke. . . .

And when the delegate from



By Ketoet Tantri

Under the pretext of "police action" against "gangs of terrorists," the Netherlands government is destroying the Republic of Indonesia. To those who know conditions in Indonesia, the pretext seems very thin.

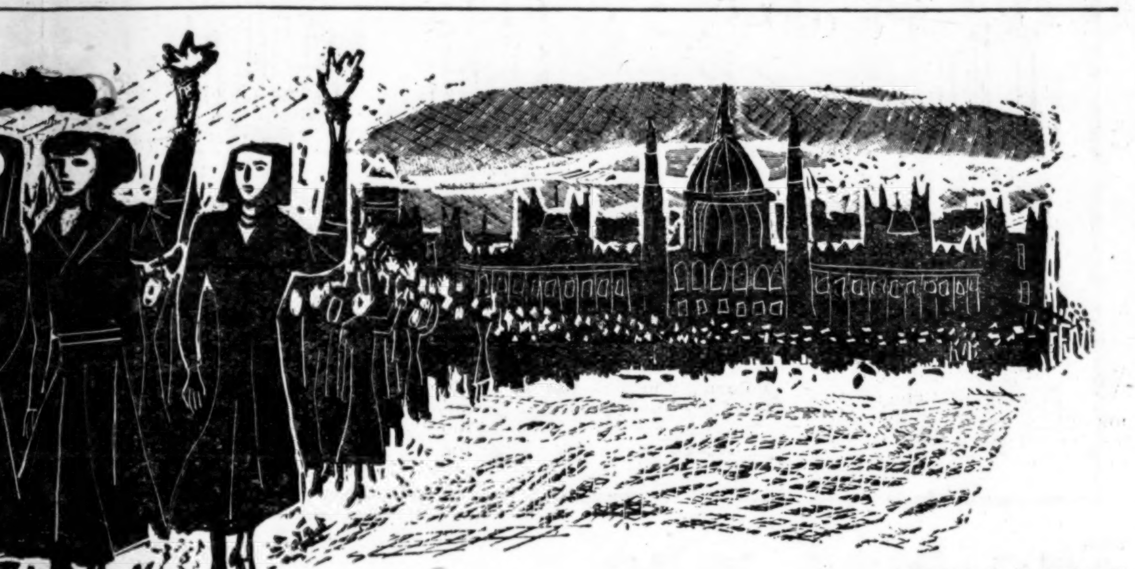
There have been incidents, kidnappings, shootings, on each sides of the "status quo line." This was inevitable considering the state of tension that has existed since the Dutch, after initialing the Linggadjati Agreement which recognized the Republic and its territory, attacked the Republic.

That there have been innumerable acts of provocation by the Dutch, I know from my own observation. I am not speaking of towns reduced to ashes, villagers bombed or driven to the hills in "police raids," but only of the smaller, every day provocations that eventually drive a sensitive people to violence.

I am speaking of Dutch soldiers swaggering about the streets of occupied Republican territory, each a walking arsenal; of Indonesians forced to eat the red and white metal buttons saying **Merdeka** (liberty), the symbol of the Republic; and of Indonesians with heads half scalped, a cruel Dutch jest in capping them with the colors of their Republic—one half a red wound, the other a white head cloth.

MURDER. One of the most pitiful stories that I know of my own experience was the murder of a young Indonesian sailor, a war prisoner who was being returned with 30 or 40 others to Republican territory. While he was in Australia the sailor had married an Australian girl. She could not return with him to a country fighting a revolution, so she gave him an Australian flag to protect him and remind him of her love. He wrapped it around his body next his skin.

THE WORLD



Drawing by J. Stefanelli

Stalingrad told how the women were achieving "the second miracle of the Volga," making good war's destruction, the Parliament of Women went wild.

U.S. DELEGATES. Disappointment was bitter for three U.S. Negro delegates delayed on the journey here by the great fog: Pearl Laws of the Fur and Leather Workers, CIO, Helois Moorehead, Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Employees, AFL, and Ada Jackson, recently Progressive Party candidate for Congress from Brooklyn. They sat out the Congress in London and Brussels. (But their Hungarian hosts made up for their lost time and ran them off their feet to press conferences, schools, colleges, farms, clinics, factories, nursery schools to get a sight of the new Hungary.)

Of the 33 other U.S. delegates and observers, four were American Slavs and two American Hungarians. Fifteen had been active in the Wallace campaign.

Muriel Draper, leader of the delegation, "answered" the many attacks on American imperialist groups—by asking delegates to look also at "the other America." "Take your minds and hearts off the small and powerful group of imperialists in the U.S. Government and, just for a moment, give it to us, the American people. We need your faith, your help and your understanding."

LIBERATION. It was obvious that many countries, particularly colonial ones, believe the Soviets spell peace and an end to exploitation for all. Throughout the Congress delegates applauded the achievements of the Soviet Union, the Red Army's job of liberation.

The Congress gave a reality to that word; and the visits of delegates to all kinds of Hungarian institutions made it even more vivid. To the school for apprentices, where the boys proudly smoothed sheets they were sleeping in for the first time; to the hospital whose director explained the revolution in medical service; to the Peoples' College for workers' children; to the textile mill where the woman spinner said simply: "My life has changed 100%."

There were fetes, celebrations, speeches, receptions, for many women hounded by the authorities of their homelands for fighting for betterment. Hungarian women gave gifts to their "sisters," plied them with questions, courtesies, attention, love.

DISTAFF SPECTER. "There is a specter that is haunting Europe, and it is in petticoats," twinkled Dr. Nora Wooster, scientist, in her quiet, clipped English.

"Demonstrations! Demonstrations! I've seen so many of them in so many countries," said the American reporter sourly.

Yes, one has. And this is one of the latest and freshest. The meaning was emphasized to me by one of Hungary's intelligent new leaders, the "savior of Budapest," Zoltan Vás, President of the Supreme Economic Council, who spent 16 years of the Horthy regime in jail.

"This is where we carry our atom bomb," he said, laughing and pointing to his heart.

Because they want freedom—

All Indonesians are 'terrorists'

(The Dutch can never forgive the Australians —white men—for sympathizing with the Indonesians. The Australian Prime Minister denounced the Dutch to the world for loading ammunition in supposedly mercy ships. Foreign Minister Evatt branded them as "untrustworthy and irresponsible" after they confiscated the greater portion of Red Cross supplies sent by Australia to be divided equally between the Dutch and the Republic.)

TWO FLAGS. At a little village on the demarcation line of the Republic, Dutch troops took the prisoners out of the coaches and ordered them to strip. The young sailor was commanded to tear off the Australian flag wound around his body. When he refused, the Dutch soldiers tried to snatch it from him. The boy fought back and his comrades fought with him, opposing guns and bayonets with their bare hands. In the melee the sailor was killed.

When the Indonesians were notified to come across the line and pick up their dead, they found a piece of the flag still clutched in the boy's hand. General Soedirman (captured by the Dutch in last week's coup), ordered a new flag woven about the scrap that the dead boy had kept, and gave him a military funeral. I went to the funeral and saw the Australian flag and the red and white Indonesian flag laid together across his bier.

General Soedirman was no orator; he had been a teacher before the war and he had the quiet manner of a professor. Standing before the bier, a tall, gaunt man (unusual among Indonesians), he addressed his troops in a gentle voice. As they listened, they were inspired not to violence but to a deeper, grimmer determination to keep their **merdeka**.

THE CURTAIN LIFTS. The so-called terrorists of Indonesia are the entire Indonesian people. Annihilating the Republic will not solve the problem for the Dutch, for it is an old problem that antedates the Republic by many years. Although few beyond the boundaries of Indonesia realized it before the war—so strict was the Dutch censorship—there has rarely been peace in Indonesia since the beginning of Dutch rule.

Now the eyes of the world are on Indonesia. The Dutch will not much longer be able to banish political prisoners wholesale to Tanah Merah, their "hell camp" in New Guinea in which conditions rival those of France's Devil's Island.

Before the war as many as 30,000 political prisoners at a time waited for death in the fever-infested swamps of New Guinea; not the most dangerous political prisoners such as President Soerkano and Prime Minister Hatta, who were isolated for life on the equally pestilential little island of Flores.

It is not widely known that these camps have been re-established by the Dutch. Not longer than a year ago Ratu Lalangi, the Republican governor of East Indonesia, was sent to Tanah Merah when he refused to support the new Dutch puppet state. The people rioted in protest but the Dutch effectively put down the "terrorists."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Asia — no peace

"THE Republic of Indonesia," said a Dutch communique on Monday, "has ceased to exist."

Watched by their commanding General Spoor, Dutch paratroopers had swooped down on the young Republic's capital, Jogjakarta, and arrested its five chief leaders including the President and Premier. The Republican areas of Java and Sumatra (see map, this page) were rapidly "mopped up" by troops of the remote whiteskins, whose wealth has so greatly depended on mastery of 50,000,000 Indonesians.

SPOOR'S BIG STICK. The attack, declared the U.N. Good Offices Committee in a strong statement on Tuesday, was in flat defiance of agreements made since Indonesia was freed from the Japanese and the Dutch recognized the Republic. Gen. Spoor was carrying out the policy he described to a New York **Times** reporter in February, 1947: "Soft words backed up by a big stick."

The announcement of the Republic's death was exaggerated. Guerrilla warfare by the people who have taken all they will take from the Dutch was warming up hourly. "The Dutch," said Dr. Soemitro of the Indonesian delegation in the U. S., "will be fighting not only in our territory but also in (territory) they formerly controlled . . . There will be no peace in Asia as long as there is colonial rule in that continent."

Of ex-Premier Amir Sjarifudin, who foresaw the Dutch action and took his place weeks ago at the head of militant guerrillas in the hills, there was as yet no news. It looked as if these guerrillas would now be carrying the ball. The question remained whether the "anti-communist" Republicans would learn the lesson of World War II and join forces.

EMBARRASSING MOMENT. Never since the Atlantic Charter gave paper freedom to all peoples had colonialism shown its hand so blatantly as in this Indonesian "Pearl Harbor," as Republican representative Palar described it to the U.N.

It was clear that such an operation must have been planned over a long period of soft words. It also seemed clear that London (and presumably Washington) must have known about it.

From London, Clifton Daniel reported to the N. Y. **Times** that "the British sympathize with the Dutch in their exasperation as the British themselves have been obliged to take similar action in Malaya, but they wish the Dutch had not forced the issue at this embarrassing moment."

Chain reaction

ASIA IS MAD. Coinciding with the overturn of the old order in China, the Netherlands' act of desperation set off a chain-reaction throughout and beyond the Asiatic continent.

India's Premier Nehru, roundly denouncing the Dutch, said: "We are pledged to end the alien domination of Asia." The Congress Party of India passed a resolution demanding removal of the French and Portuguese from their Indian possessions. (Paris was already gloomy about the prospects for holding Indo-China against the Viet-Nam Republicans, who hold 80% of that country.)

Australia immediately took a position against the Dutch. The Arab League cabled an appeal to the U.N. to "halt Dutch aggression."

MARSHALL MAZUMA. Dutch Premier Drees, in an oration about freedom beginning with the words "These are times for confusing thoughts . . . ," said: "We will overcome the difficulties if we can prove our sincerity."

Middle-road liberals held hands with Drees in his cloud of verbal dust; only the eight Communist members of the Hague Parliament stood up to be counted in opposition to an act which nobody outside Holland dared openly defend. Outside Parliament, Dutch trade unions proposed a protest strike and many prominent intellectuals backed the protests.

The horse having already bolted, U.S. representative Philip C. Jessup introduced a U.N. resolution calling for a cease-fire and return of troops to their original positions. Russia condemned the resolution as hopelessly weak; the U.N. was faced with its supreme test. ECA aid to the Netherlands East Indies was suspended, but not aid to the Netherlands itself, which anyhow had materials for the operation under existing contracts.

WESTERN CANNONFODDER. The affair added a new dilemma to the State Dept.'s collection because of its im-

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WORLD ROUNDUP

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pact on the grandiose plans for "Western European defense."

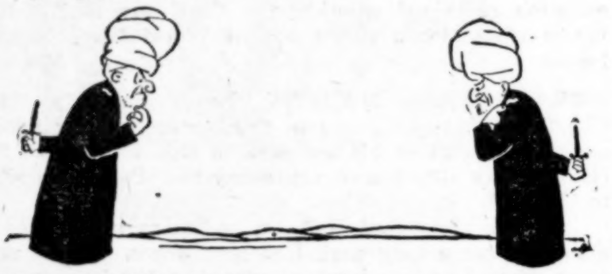
The Dutch are using 85,000 troops in Indonesia in addition to the regular N.E.I. army of 34,000. The European plan calls for 60,000 of these to be returned to Holland in the next 18 months; but even so, Western Union warlord Montgomery would be short by hundreds of thousands of men of what he needs to defend civilization against the Asiatic hordes.

Meanwhile Japan was frankly converted into a U.S. colony when Gen. MacArthur ordered the Diet to pass anti-labor bills, and won Premier Yoshida's "heartfelt thanks" for his "earnest advice." Scant attention was paid to the hanging of Tojo and six other notorious war-criminals. AP reported from Tokyo that policemen and prostitutes "looked solemn." All other Class A war-criminals were released.

Double Mufti

IN Palestine, a touch of comedy was lent to the people's struggle for freedom when King Abdullah of Trans-jordan appointed a new Mufti of Jerusalem, thereby finally knocking on the head the Hitler-collaborating Mufti Haj Amin el Husseini and his backers—Abdullah's rivals in the Arab League.

The new Mufti, Sheikh Hussan Meddin Jarallah, was a candidate for the job at the last "election" in the Moslem Supreme Council. He got more votes than Haj Amin but the then British High Commissioner, Samuel, gave the job to Haj regardless.



VEGETATION IN GAZA. Actually a dead duck for a long time, Haj Amin had only been kept alive by U.S. newsmen who refused to acknowledge the fact.

He did not heroically lead Egypt's army through the Negev wilderness, and the so-called "Gaza government" which he headed merely vegetated while the livelier Abdullah worked effectively with his British advisers.

On Thursday the vegetation in Gaza stopped abruptly. The Israelis, after trying unsuccessfully to open free negotiations for an armistice with the Egyptians, launched an attack on that city and in the Negev.

A grave error

MARCEL PEYROUTON, Minister of Interior of the Vichy government which Hitler "allowed" to be set up during the war, was set free by a French court last week. His action in legalizing anti-Semitism in France, thereby sending thousands of French Jews to extermination, was called "a grave mistake."

On the same day 1,000 children of Bastogne, in the Belgian sector of Hitler's "Greater Europe," feasted from paper bags sent from America to commemorate the Battle of the Bulge. The bags contain nuts.

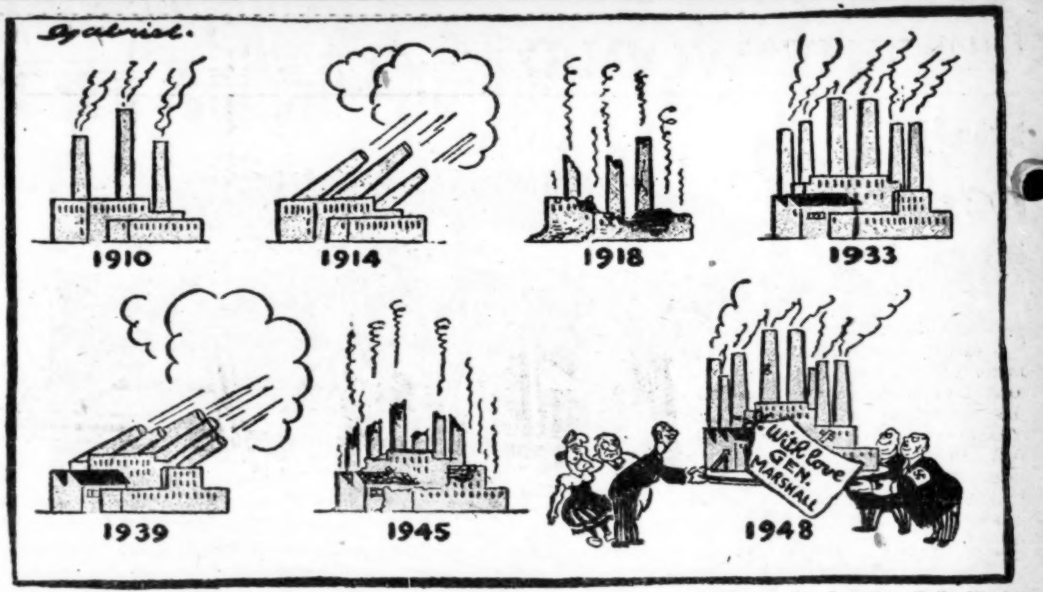
SAWDUST SAVIOR. In spite of "the growing inclination of the U. S. Government to regard Germany as an ally" (N.Y. Times, Dec. 21), it was announced that France had agreed to turning the Ruhr back to the Germans, on the basis of a "policing" plan to prevent future German aggression.

In a speech to his followers, Gen. de Gaulle included Germany in "our civilization" which must be defended, and said the problem of restoring German power could be solved by integrating the western zones into a European economic union including "at least a part of Africa."

This seemed to make a pattern with de Gaulle's personal appearance the week before in the Vel d'Hiv, Paris' Madison Sq. Garden, when he appealed to labor with Mussolini's deflated theories of a corporative state (labor-management "industrial associations").

POINTED PYRAMID. If (writes GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow, who was there) any French workingmen were

Continued in wide column on next page.



Gabriel in the London Daily Worker

The men who make our policy on Germany

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED States policy in Germany is reversing the results of World War II and affecting the future of the world. Who determines this policy and why? Behind the General's stars of U.S. Military Governor Lucius D. Clay are a number of powerful groups operating largely without publicity.

In October 1948, Gen. Clay lifted the three-year ban on foreign investment in western Germany. Chiefly responsible for this move, which opens the riches of the Ruhr and the Rhine to U.S. big business, was a group of American industrialists who have recently risen through the Economic Cooperation Administration to commanding positions in the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

This new group of businessmen, most of whom come from the Middle West, are determined to take what they want without regard to the niceties of diplomacy.

They condemn General Clay as too moderate, and criticize outspoken Germany-firsters like William Draper and his former Dillon Read banking partners as effete easterners whose policy is not aggressive enough.

KINDER TO NAZIS. It was pressure from these midwestern businessmen, acting through ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman, former president of the Studebaker Corp., and one of their own kind, which brought to a temporary halt the dismantling of German plants earmarked for reparations.

The midwesterners consider hitherto maintained by the Dil- the small reparations program lon Read policymakers in Germany a sign of weakness. Their attempt to kill the reparations program outright led to the present serious conflict over reparations with Britain, France and other victims of Hitler.

THE WILSON STORY. The leading figures of the midwestern group are:

Charles Wilson, president of General Motors.

GM, since the 1920's, has held a predominant role in Germany's auto production. It owned the biggest auto factory in Germany, the Opel Works at Ruesselsheim in Wuerttemberg, now in the U.S. Zone.

Under Hitler, Opel—which built most of the trucks for the Nazi army—grew so big that in 1941 GM was able to deduct $35,000,000 from its taxes to compensate for alleged war losses in Germany. After the war, GM executives won important positions in the shaping and execution of German policy, and from the start sought to undermine the reparations program and step up the rebuilding of German heavy industry.

Wilson today demands big ECA allocations to make Germany the leading steel producer in Europe, so that his company can dominate the auto industry of the continent.

G. A. Price, president of Westinghouse Electric.

Westinghouse has had extensive business interests in Germany since before World War I. With subsidiaries in many of the big German cities, it did some 20% of the electrical and electrical equipment business in Nazi Germany. Westinghouse now aims to centralize its holdings in Western Germany so that it can extend its octopus-like embrace over all of Europe.

Frederick V. Geier, director of Procter and Gamble, which had close relations with I.G. Farben, the giant German chemical combine.

John L. McCaffrey, president of the International Harvester Co., whose foreign subsidiaries owned the Neuss Works and twine mill in Germany.

George Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Company of Cleveland, a coal and iron concern closely connected with the heavy steel industry, particularly U.S. Steel, and with Standard Oil of N.J., I. G. Farben's old partner.

MEN AT WORK. The French and British were so fearful of a rebuilt Germany that Hoffman had to fly to Europe t[illegible] exert personal pressure on Foreign Ministers Bevin a[illegible] Schuman, before he could [illegible] their consent to a temporary halt in the dismantling program and still another study of the reparations question.

To make this study Hoffman appointed the leading figures of the midwest group who are demanding a complete end to reparations.

They prepared their report in Washington. Only then did some of them go to Germany to give the appearance of an investigation.

BARGAIN SALE. The more than 300 German plants scheduled for reparations delivery offer a temptation to American industrialists. The midwest group wants to buy many of these plants for itself.

Agents are now reported trying to make deals with present owners to get them at bargain rates.

The reparations question is only one factor in the overall German program of this group. In conferences with government officials in Washington recently, the five midwest industrialists revealed that they will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete re-establishment of German industrial dominance in Europe.

After the reparations' program is effectively crippled, they will push their next demand—a huge subsidy for western German industry owned and controlled by American industrialists.

TABITHA PETRAN, who has been on the editorial staffs of "Tin[illegible] "New York Post" and "PM," se[illegible] through the November elections as research director for the Progressive Party.

The American Century

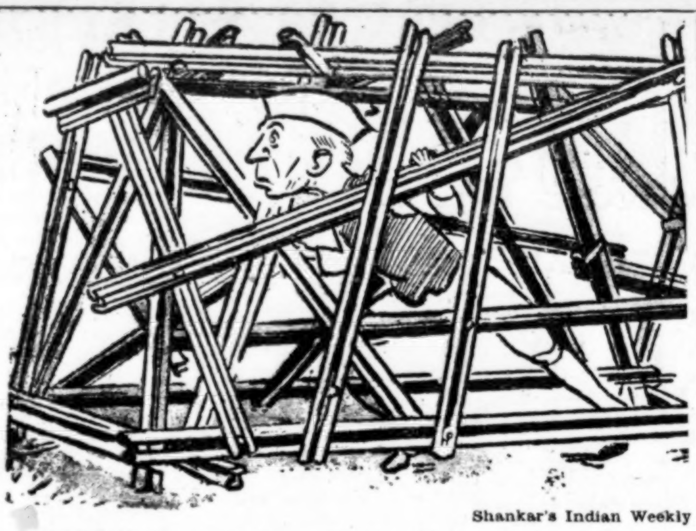
"IN THE course of World War II, the United States acquired or consolidated *de facto* dominion over 96,495,000 square miles of ocean and put in claims to domination and control of 13,825,000 square miles of land with 645,815,000 inhabitants. . . .

These figures represent expansion alone. Adding pre-war possessions and early veiled empire, the strategic dominion of the United States as indicated by its military or other *de facto* controls, extends to 14,725,000 square miles outside our own borders and embraces a population of 667,815,000 "subjects."

—George Marion, "Bases and Empire," (Fairplay Publishers, 25 W. 44th St., New York: paper, $1.25).

Kumar Goshal

India Heckles Nehru


Shankar's Indian Weekly

NEHRU: We vowed to smash the old steel frame of British imperialism, but we are caught in it.

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, has an impressive personality. Years of imprisonment have not embittered him. He remains a charming host, frank to the point of bluntness in his answers to questions, often impulsive in his actions.

Though Nehru is the titular head of the Indian Government, power really rests in the hands of the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

A veritable Pooh-Bah, Deputy Prime Minister Patel is also the Minister of Home Affairs, Information and Broadcasting, and Indian Princes' States. An Indian writer has aptly described him as the equivalent of a Tammany Boss.

IT'S THE REDS. I had an opportunity to meet and talk to various Central and Provincial government officials, including Pandit Nehru.

These officials, when they are interviewed, readily admit the present misfortunes of the Indian people and the shortcomings of the Indian Government. They offer explanations and refer to the various plans they have to improve the lot of the people.

They attribute India's sad condition to the partitioning of India into two dominions; to the difficulty of obtaining enough capital goods to build industries and rehabilitate and expand India's meager transportation system; to the need for moving slowly in relation to the princes and landlords, in order to avoid violent upheavals which might bring in their wake radical social and economic changes; and to the irresponsible action of Communists.

ON PAPER. There is no doubt that some of these difficulties do exist. Partition has seriously dislocated India's internal economy, and Mr. Henry Grady, recently U.S. Ambassador to India, advised the Indians to concentrate upon agriculture and not count upon America as a source of capital goods.

There are indeed innumerable plans for power projects, industrialization and mechanization of agriculture. But admittedly they cannot be realized in the near future due to the very lack of capital goods.

Most government officials hedge, however, when one points out to them that an alternative program of cottage industries, cooperatives, drastic land reform and improved working conditions of industrial labor would increase production considerably;

That, according to the past declarations of India's present rulers, radical social and economic changes are exactly what India needs;

That the swift surrender of the prince of Hyderabad indicated the possibility of freeing India of her feudal princes and landlords with relative ease, if the government showed enough determination to do so;

That in Hyderabad, in fact, popular forces led by a coalition of an offshoot of the official Congress Party and the Communist Party had actually freed a quarter of the prince's subjects, and had set up a parallel democratic government **before** the Indian Government took any action against the prince;

And that it is embarrassing to find the government of India taking refuge behind the shabby pretense of "communistic agitation."

SELDOM MILD. When it is pointed out to them that plans whose success depends upon imported capital goods are worthless when capital goods are unobtainable, the government officials just throw up their hands in despair.

I believe Pandit Nehru is keenly aware of the dilemma, but wishes to avoid violence at all costs and hopes for some mild and harmonious solution of India's problems.

It is doubtful if his hopes will bear fruit. The people of India have changed remarkably; there is a new dignity about them, and a new militancy. This has been demonstrated in the Telengana region of Hyderabad, in Bengal and Bihar and Bombay, and in Kashmir, where a popular government headed by Nehru's friend Sheikh Abdullah has already initiated some basic reforms.

In New Delhi not so long ago, a committee of refugees from Pakistan even heckled the popular Nehru and demanded more than the setting up of commissions to aid them.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

among the General's 40,000 frenzied fans who scrambled for 30,000 seats, they were obscured by the ancient pearl stickpins and plumed hats of the petite bourgeoisie—backbone of de Gaulle's movement. Despite the talk of de Gaulle's waning power, all observers agreed that the turnout for the meeting was the strongest seen for months in Paris.

The decor of the blue-and-white-lit meeting, designed Gaulle hierarchy assembled in an immense pyramid topped off by the General's pointed head.

Shouting, squeaking, sighing and growling in the best Gallic oratorical tradition, the General told French workers—the little men who weren't there: "You must take your part in French economic responsibilities. That means that in production you are to be associates . . . not wage earners." Unions would be done away with and all would get together in one happy family.

WAR-PHOBIA. The crowd's enthusiasm, weakest during de Gaulle's concrete suggestions, was still blindly for the chief and not for his program.

At another meeting in Paris 18,000 delegates—liberals, priests, military, peasants and workers—demonstrated for peace.

GUARDIAN correspondent Robert Jean Longuet reported that such unanimous sentiment against war has never before existed among the French people. Editorialists asked if the French were to go on sacrificing their industry, commerce and agriculture to a U.S. plan whereby they must sink billions into a military budget.

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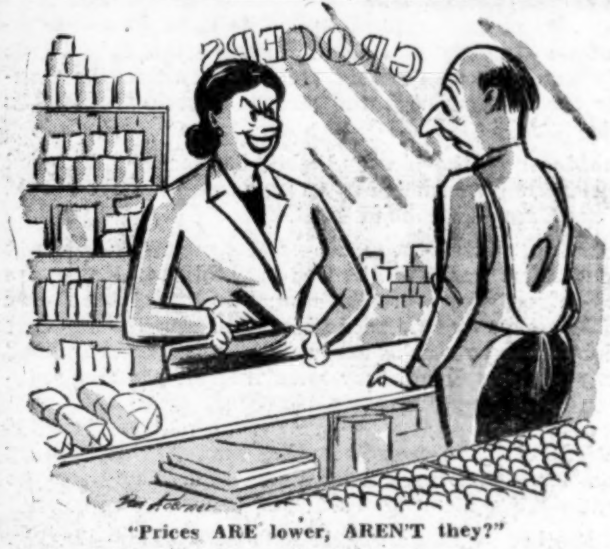


"Prices ARE lower, AREN'T they?"

Slump Spreading

THE business slump which GUARDIAN has spotlighted from time to time has grown to near-recession dimensions. Merchandise lines hardest hit so far by the public's buying strike are men's clothing, household appliances and furniture. Furniture buying is running 15% behind last year. A slowdown in the buying of women's dresses is also beginning to force price cuts in this field.

There's an immediate opportunity for consumers in these price cuts. Heavy inventories of household appliances (even washing machines) assure a widespread unloading all through January, with many dealers planning to mask the price-cutting as closeouts of "damaged" or shopworn merchandise. Price cuts in men's wear are fanning out. Leading shirt manufacturers like Phillips-Jones, makers of **Van Heusen**, are dropping prices of standard-quality broadcloths from $3.50 to $2.95.

In children's clothes, last apparel group to feel the buying strike, reductions of 50 cents to $1 have been announced for dresses and other cotton items for Spring.

Twice-bitten consumers cannot yet count on these price cuts as heralding the end of inflation. Most formidable block to lower prices is the rearmament program (see **Perlo**, page 3).

But, meanwhile, consumers have a chance to fill some of their more urgent needs at the clearance sales now erupting.

•

Consider Asphalt Tile

UNLIKE other home-furnishings, charges for linoleum are still rising to the point where some grades are now 130% higher than in 1940. The latest price boost—in effect in a few days—has narrowed the cost differential between linoleum and the longer-wearing asphalt tile, and increased asphalt's value for permanent installations.

Popularity of asphalt tiles have steadily increased since manufacturers found ways to make them in color. Another development is a new type of tiles with plasticizers added to make them flexible enough to lay over wood without cracking.

For less-permanent installations, linoleum still does have a small edge on price. Most reasonably priced types are jaspe or marbleized.

•

Free Enterprise Package

THE National Retail Dry Goods Assn., in cooperation with **The Saturday Evening Post**, will launch a publicity drive Feb. 16 to "sell" free enterprise to the public. Ben Namm, of the Namm Dept. Store in Brooklyn, an NRDGA official, says that as part of the campaign some 170,000 stores will display posters telling customers that "democracy works" here because they have the "freedom to pick and choose" goods and services.

This same dry goods association first launched the attacks on Chester Bowles and OPA that finally wrecked price controls and raised the cost of living 30%. Chief spokesman for NRDGA in that campaign was the same Ben Namm, who turned up in Washington with merchandise exhibits designed to demonstrate to receptive Congressmen that OPA was unable to keep down prices and free enterprise could do it better.

LIVING & LEISURE

You just can't squeeze out a hurricane, Mister

DOWN in Florida a fairly large number of well-to-do citizens have seriously expressed a wish for a violent hurricane to rip through the middle of the State's rich citrus belt.

Florida orange growers have a problem, and many of them argue that only a natural disaster can solve it.

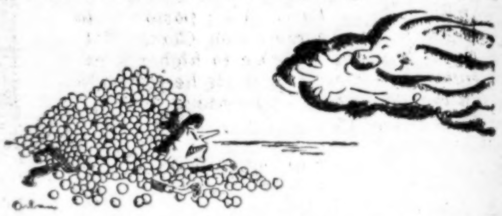
The problem? Abundance. Orange groves this year produced too many oranges.

It is one of those recurrent problems of our world that wouldn't make sense to that man from Mars. It fails to make sense to a lot of Americans who like orange juice and don't get enough: down in Florida sane people are destroying oranges. Over the feelings of mothers of vitamin-starved kids in Europe and Asia, let us draw a veil.

THE MORE, THE WORSE. This year Florida sunshine and fertile earth produced 114,000,000 boxes of oranges, compared to 48,000,000 in the 1941-42 season. This fertility is causing orange growers to lose up to 35 cents on every box of oranges picked.

This "over-production" is itself a consequence of greed. During the war growers made so much money that they couldn't bring themselves to pay their proper income taxes. They put their new wealth into expanded groves and got tax-exemptions for being so enterprising. It worked out with the government actually footing the bill for 75% of the added acreage planted to oranges. Now they have more oranges than they can profitably sell.

ORGANIZED SCARCITY. And because hurricanes don't blow on order, they are seeking other and less drastic "solutions." They're petitioning Washington to buy more oranges for the free school-lunch program. They are welcoming new plants to process oranges into frozen extract. And they are organizing a Florida Citrus Mutual to permit "collective action" to maintain high prices. It may be that a cartel of that kind can in the long run be as destructive as a hurricane.



Pity the poor Florida orange grower. He can buy anything but a disaster.

Lifelines

CALLING all mayors! Instead of squawking futilely about delinquency, Mayor Russel Hileman of Michigan City, Ind., comes up with an offer that kids in every town will appreciate. His administration is ready to supply and install a basketball backboard, hoop and net for anyone who wants one, anywhere in town. "All we want to know is who wants a court," he says. "We'll put the equipment in driveways, in yards, school playgrounds or in vacant lots so that every player in the city will have a place to play."

•

STANDARDIZED BITES? A uniform size for stomachs is still somewhere in the future but the American Standards Assn. is calling for the standardization of all the utensils that are used in preparing your food. Measuring spoons, they complain, vary as much as 40% from the size set 22 years ago by the U.S. Bureau of Standards, and measuring cups are not all the same, either. What this can do to cook-book recipes you can imagine—or do you already know?

PRE-FAB SATELLITE. If you went far enough from the earth—roughly 22,000 miles—you would go around and around, neither falling toward the ground nor away from it. At that distance, the theory goes, gravitation would be balanced. Mr. H. E. Ross of High Wycombe, Bucks, England, says why not send somebody out there to help keep the peace?

He has plans for a pre-fabricated flying saucer, the parts of which would be shot to the desired height by rocket-charges. There, space-divers in specially made jet-propelled suits would gather the pieces and bolt them together. Since weight would be overcome, a medium-size mechanic could move a two-ton girder easily and hang his wrench in the air without losing it.

When assembled, the 200-foot wide disc would be a landing place for supply rockets and the living quarters of the peace-keepers who would watch the earth below for unauthorized atomic explosions.

•

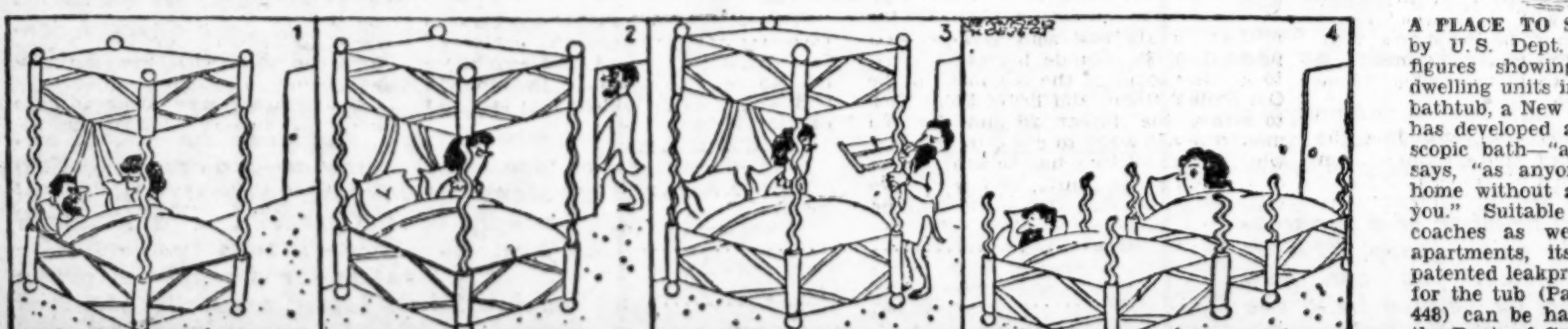
MORE T-ZONES. This year we will have smoked 385,000,000,000 cigarettes, an increase of 5% over last year and 43% over five years ago. The tobacco industry isn't satisfied. In its yearly report, prepared by the "Fiduciary Counsel, Inc.," of Wall St., they moan that in "the Middle and Far Western States promotional efforts have as yet had minor effects, especially among women."

Hudibras

But cheer up: "The industry anticipates gains larger than population growth through development of the cigarette smoking habit in rural districts." A survey of a different scientific character by two Knoxville, Tenn., reporters shows that the average smoker throws away 45% of his cigarette. In the neighborhood of maternity wards sleuths found discarded butts had been smoked down until less than one-tenth was left.

•

A PLACE TO SING. Alarmed by U.S. Dept. of Commerce figures showing that 629,030 dwelling units in Ohio have no bathtub, a New Jersey inventor has developed a portable telescopic bath—"a necessity," he says, "as anyone living in a home without a bath will tell you." Suitable for trailer coaches as well as cramped apartments, its feature is a patented leakproof seam. Plans for the tub (Patent No. 2,420,448) can be had for 25c from the Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

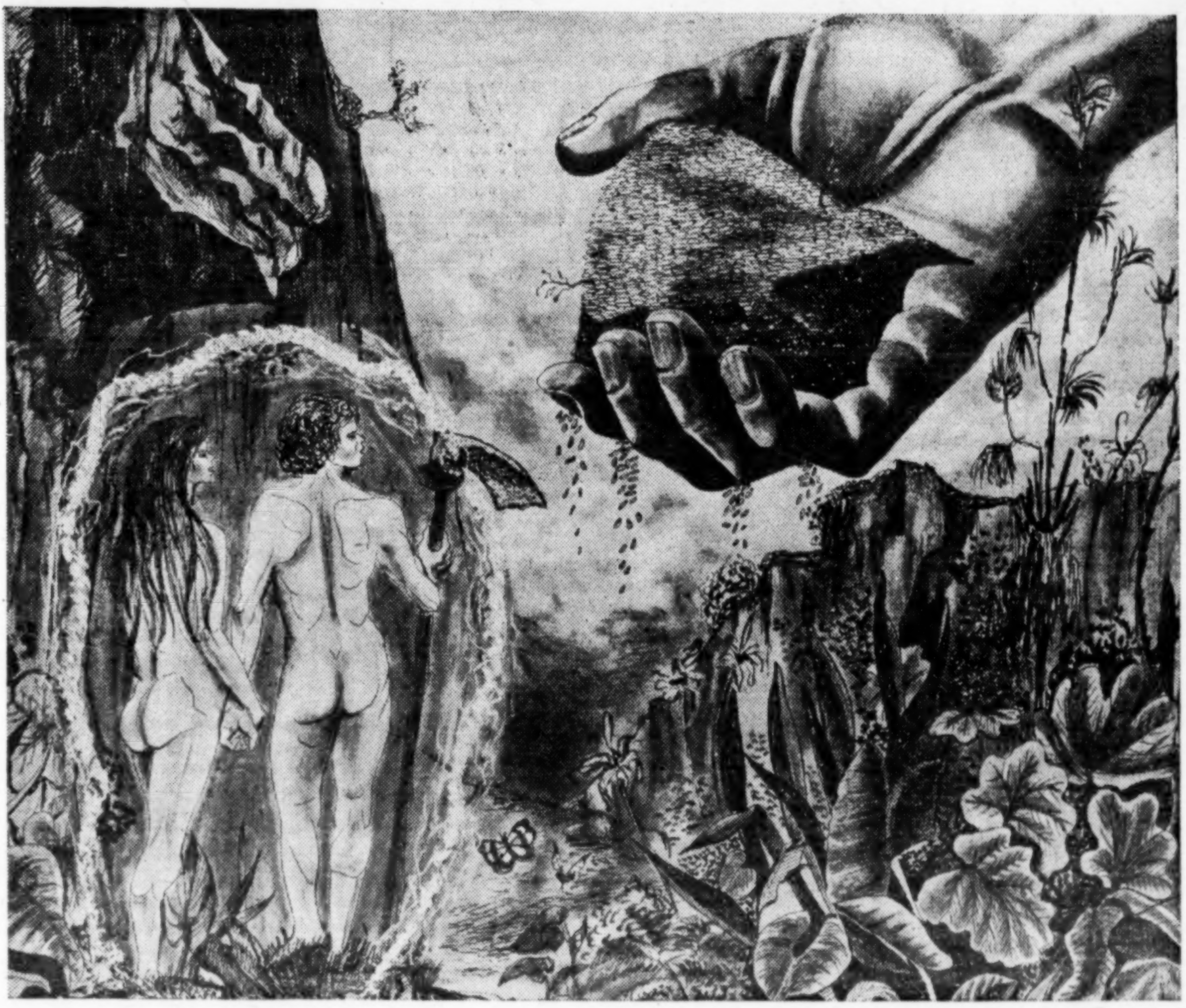


HOW TWIN BEDS WERE INVENTED

France Dimanche, Paris

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage



Gen. 1:27-28—"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it. . . . And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." A lecture chart of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. (Drawing by Milton Wynne).

IV. The fight for Brotherhood

Branded a "red" because of his help to miners and sharecroppers, and deprived of his Paris, Ark., pastorate in the depth of the depression, Claude Williams appealed his case to higher Presbyterian bodies. Meanwhile he remained in the Paris manse, continuing his work with the poor.

> **For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.—PAUL**

TO carry on his work now the preacher did not need his church position, except for one thing: he and his family needed to eat, and without his pastorate he could not get even the reduced allowance which the Board of Missions had been paying him.

The money from the sale of his last insurance policy was almost gone. Not a kopek had come in from Moscow. He did not know how he would provide for the children. He could not help worrying over this, but he did not have much time for thinking about it. It was more Joyce's worry, but she did not want to impede the work and she managed to be casual about it. She was getting used to living from day to day and keeping calm.

As for the children, only Claudera the baby was still unconscious of the storms beating against the manse and the family. At school, Constance and Cornelia were allowed no illusions as to the kind of father they had drawn. They heard that he was a nigger-lover, a bolshevik, a lunatic, a devil in human guise.

By a mature and dignified instinct, they gave him no hint of the share of the family load which they in their children's world had to carry. Yet the fact that they had it to carry was plain enough from the rapturous delight they showed when someone respectable actually agreed with Claude on some issue. One day Constance had rushed in from school fairly wriggling with delight, flung herself at him and cried:

"Daddy, my teacher believes like you do about the Indians!"

WITH the fifth year of world crisis now well advanced, Claude was so close to the pain of the people that his personal economic crisis rushed to its final phase half unnoticed.

One of the church board members, meeting Claude on the street, said: "We're going to starve you out." Another eviction notice came in September, and he ignored it. By the same mail he received an official nomination from the Arkansas Socialist Party as its candidate for Governor.

His suit against the board for $2,000 in back salary was not due to be heard until January. A group of Commonwealth students made it known that, if an attempt were made to evict the preacher, they would come and picket the manse; if his belongings were set out in the street, they would set them right back in. Claude announced that on the day of eviction, if the board went through with it, he would have an all-day picnic on the manse lawn to which all the miners, farmers and young people would be invited. There was no eviction.

BACK in Paris after attending the conference of Younger Churchmen of the South at Chattanooga, the first job Claude had to do was to preach the funeral of a ten-months-old baby, who died of pneumonia and colitis from inadequate food. It was a sermon no other minister cared to preach. The baby's father was doing relief work and receiving $9.60 a month to support a family of four. Claude said it was not the will of God that the baby should die, nor was it the work of some horned devil. It was a clear case of murder, and millions of other babies in America were being similarly murdered by the profit system.

A box of groceries from a Rabbi in Nashville had kept the family going while Claude was away in Chattanooga. He realized how lucky he was, having such friends. Christmas was approaching, and some of the young folk came to decorate the manse and play Santa Claus to the children. Somebody sent a $10 bill. A check for $12 came from Willard Uphaus of the Religion and Labor Foundation in Connecticut.

The children had a happy Christmas Day, and Claude and Joyce were able to send off a box of clothes to Claude's mother and father and aunts, who were reduced to great privations. In the afternoon Montgomery Bird, a Negro of 73, came by with a sack containing turnips and dried peas.

"I didn't have a thing to bring but sentiment," said the old man. "And I thought I'd just bring it along in a sack."

ON New Year's Day there was enough for quite a dinner. One of the miners' locals had sent a New Year present of $5. Claude borrowed a car to go for some of the old men in the Old Folks' Home and bring them back to share the dinner. At first the old men did not want to come in the rags which were all they had to wear. Three of them had no shirts, and they were very dirty because the Home had no bath. One of them was blind, and broke down at the table because of his helplessness. Claude gave them what clothes he had. He had two spare shirts, and he took off the one he was wearing and gave it to the third shirtless man so that each should have one.

A young fellow came in later on and wanted to give Claude 15c.

"I just want to give it," he said.

Claude would not take it, and as he was leaving the young man said:

"I'll pick you a load of coal down by the mine and send it. I just want to send it."

"We're all right," Claude said. "We keep warm."

"I want to send it. I'd been wanting all my life to hear the things you've been saying."

IN the second week of the New Year the Circuit Court considered the red preacher's claim against the Presbyterian church board for unpaid salary amounting to $2,299.

Claude told the jury of Southern Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Cumberlanders and Holy Rollers that Dr. Wilson, the chief under whom he had worked, had admonished Synod to see the debt was paid. He showed that Synod had not denied the money was justly owing.

This ended the case for which the preacher had come to court. There was no further mention of any debt owing to him.

Witnesses were brought who claimed they had actually seen the preachers' Communist Party card, and who swore he had said Jesus was a bastard and had taught their children free-love and nudism.

The attorney said:

"Just tell this jury of honest God-fearing men what is your position on Jonah?"

"I accept that story as a parable cloaking significant truths. Here was a man who thought he was superior to everyone else. He got a lesson that taught him differently. There's truth in the story."

"Now tell the jury straight. Do you or do you not believe in the Virgin Birth?"

"It doesn't make any difference to me whether Jesus was born of a virgin or not. He was more than an ordinary man. People who knew him recognized him as a superior type. He was a big man."

Now the attorney brought his face close to the preacher's on the witness-stand and shouted:

"Didn't you have niggers eat at your table while you were pastor?"

"Yes, I did. And I was careful to pull up the shades."

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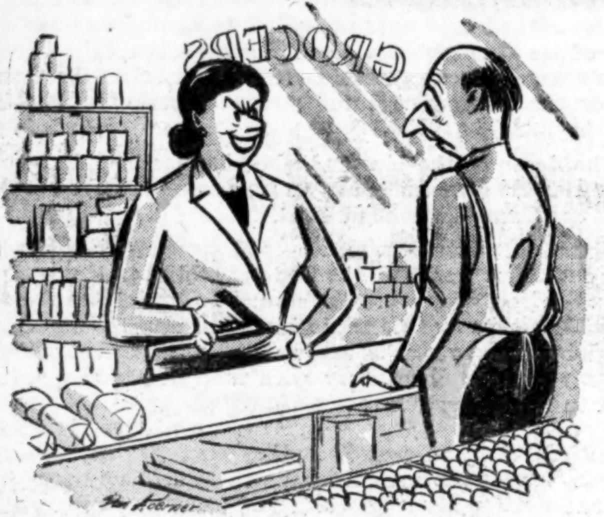
5th INSTALLMENT NEXT WEEK

DOLLAR STRETCHER



"Prices ARE lower, AREN'T they?"

Slump Spreading

THE business slump which GUARDIAN has spotlighted from time to time has grown to near-recession dimensions. Merchandise lines hardest hit so far by the public's buying strike are men's clothing, household appliances and furniture. Furniture buying is running 15% behind last year. A slowdown in the buying of women's dresses is also beginning to force price cuts in this field.

There's an immediate opportunity for consumers in these price cuts. Heavy inventories of household appliances (even washing machines) assure a widespread unloading all through January, with many dealers planning to mask the price-cutting as closeouts of "damaged" or shopworn merchandise. Price cuts in men's wear are fanning out. Leading shirt manufacturers like Phillips-Jones, makers of **Van Heusen**, are dropping prices of standard-quality broadcloths from $3.50 to $2.95.

In children's clothes, last apparel group to feel the buying strike, reductions of 50 cents to $1 have been announced for dresses and other cotton items for Spring.

Twice-bitten consumers cannot yet count on these price cuts as heralding the end of inflation. Most formidable block to lower prices is the rearmament program (see **Perlo**, page 3).

But, meanwhile, consumers have a chance to fill some of their more urgent needs at the clearance sales now erupting.

•

Consider Asphalt Tile

UNLIKE other home-furnishings, charges for linoleum are still rising to the point where some grades are now 130% higher than in 1940. The latest price boost—in effect in a few days—has narrowed the cost differential between linoleum and the longer-wearing asphalt tile, and increased asphalt's value for permanent installations.

Popularity of asphalt tiles have steadily increased since manufacturers found ways to make them in color. Another development is a new type of tiles with plasticizers added to make them flexible enough to lay over wood without cracking.

For less-permanent installations, linoleum still does have a small edge on price. Most reasonably priced types are jaspe or marbleized.

•

Free Enterprise Package

THE National Retail Dry Goods Assn., in cooperation with **The Saturday Evening Post**, will launch a publicity drive Feb. 16 to "sell" free enterprise to the public. Ben Namm, of the Namm Dept. Store in Brooklyn, an NRDGA official, says that as part of the campaign some 170,000 stores will display posters telling customers that "democracy works" here because they have the "freedom to pick and choose" goods and services.

This same dry goods association first launched the attacks on Chester Bowles and OPA that finally wrecked price controls and raised the cost of living 30%. Chief spokesman for NRDGA in that campaign was the same Ben Namm, who turned up in Washington with merchandise exhibits designed to demonstrate to receptive Congressmen that OPA was unable to keep down prices and free enterprise could do it better.

LIVING & LEISURE

You just can't squeeze out a hurricane, Mister

DOWN in Florida a fairly large number of well-to-do citizens have seriously expressed a wish for a violent hurricane to rip through the middle of the State's rich citrus belt.

Florida orange growers have a problem, and many of them argue that only a natural disaster can solve it.

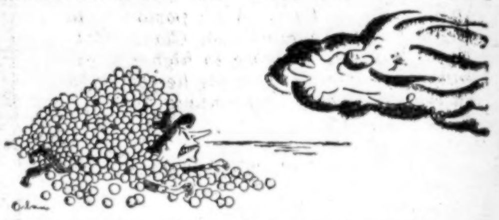
The problem? Abundance. Orange groves this year produced too many oranges.

It is one of those recurrent problems of our world that wouldn't make sense to that man from Mars. It fails to make sense to a lot of Americans who like orange juice and don't get enough: down in Florida sane people are destroying oranges. Over the feelings of mothers of vitamin-starved kids in Europe and Asia, let us draw a veil.

THE MORE, THE WORSE. This year Florida sunshine and fertile earth produced 114,000,000 boxes of oranges, compared to 48,000,000 in the 1941-42 season. This fertility is causing orange growers to lose up to 35 cents on every box of oranges picked.

This "over-production" is itself a consequence of greed. During the war growers made so much money that they couldn't bring themselves to pay their proper income taxes. They put their new wealth into expanded groves and got tax-exemptions for being so enterprising. It worked out with the government actually footing the bill for 75% of the added acreage planted to oranges. Now they have more oranges than they can profitably sell.

ORGANIZED SCARCITY. And because hurricanes don't blow on order, they are seeking other and less drastic "solutions." They're petitioning Washington to buy more oranges for the free school-lunch program. They are welcoming new plants to process oranges into frozen extract. And they are organizing a Florida Citrus Mutual to permit "collective action" to maintain high prices. It may be that a cartel of that kind can in the long run be as destructive as a hurricane.



Pity the poor Florida orange grower. He can buy anything but a disaster.

Lifelines

CALLING all mayors! Instead of squawking futilely about delinquency, Mayor Russel Hileman of Michigan City, Ind., comes up with an offer that kids in every town will appreciate. His administration is ready to supply and install a basketball backboard, hoop and net for anyone who wants one, anywhere in town. "All we want to know is who wants a court," he says. "We'll put the equipment in driveways, in yards, school playgrounds or in vacant lots so that every player in the city will have a place to play."

•

STANDARDIZED BITES? A uniform size for stomachs is still somewhere in the future but the American Standards Assn. is calling for the standardization of all the utensils that are used in preparing your food. Measuring spoons, they complain, vary as much as 40% from the size set 22 years ago by the U.S. Bureau of Standards, and measuring cups are not all the same, either. What this can do to cook-book recipes you can imagine—or do you already know?

PRE-FAB SATELLITE. If you went far enough from the earth—roughly 22,000 miles—you would go around and around, neither falling toward the ground nor away from it. At that distance, the theory goes, gravitation would be balanced. Mr. H. E. Ross of High Wycombe, Bucks, England, says why not send somebody out there to help keep the peace?

He has plans for a pre-fabricated flying saucer, the parts of which would be shot to the desired height by rocket-charges. There, space-divers in specially made jet-propelled suits would gather the pieces and bolt them together. Since weight would be overcome, a medium-size mechanic could move a two-ton girder easily and hang his wrench in the air without losing it.

When assembled, the 200-foot wide disc would be a landing place for supply rockets and the living quarters of the peace-keepers who would watch the earth below for unauthorized atomic explosions.

•

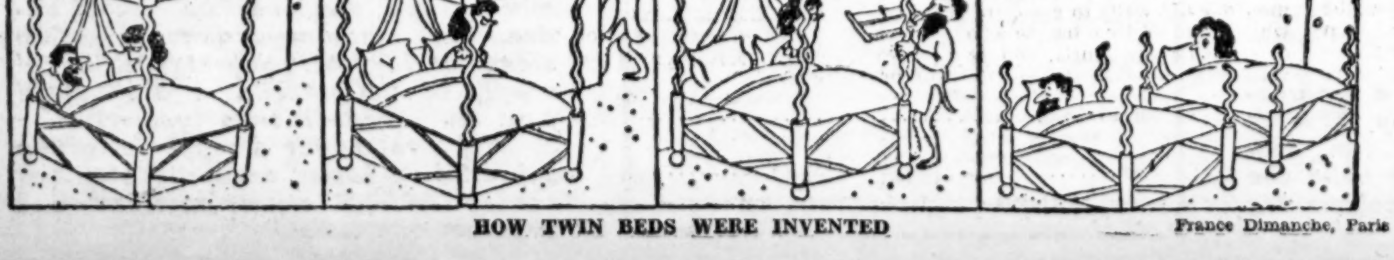
MORE T-ZONES. This year we will have smoked 385,000,000,000 cigarettes, an increase of 5% over last year and 43% over five years ago. The tobacco industry isn't satisfied. In its yearly report, prepared by the "Fiduciary Counsel, Inc.," of Wall St., they moan that in "the Middle and Far Western States promotional efforts have as yet had minor effects, especially among women."

Hudibras

But cheer up: "The industry anticipates gains larger than population growth through development of the cigarette smoking habit in rural districts." A survey of a different scientific character by two Knoxville, Tenn., reporters shows that the average smoker throws away 45% of his cigarette. In the neighborhood of maternity wards sleuths found discarded butts had been smoked down until less than one-tenth was left.

•

A PLACE TO SING. Alarmed by U.S. Dept. of Commerce figures showing that 629,030 dwelling units in Ohio have no bathtub, a New Jersey inventor has developed a portable telescopic bath—"a necessity," he says, "as anyone living in a home without a bath will tell you." Suitable for trailer coaches as well as cramped apartments, its feature is a patented leakproof seam. Plans for the tub (Patent No. 2,420,448) can be had for 25c from the Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C.



HOW TWIN BEDS WERE INVENTED

France Dimanche, Paris

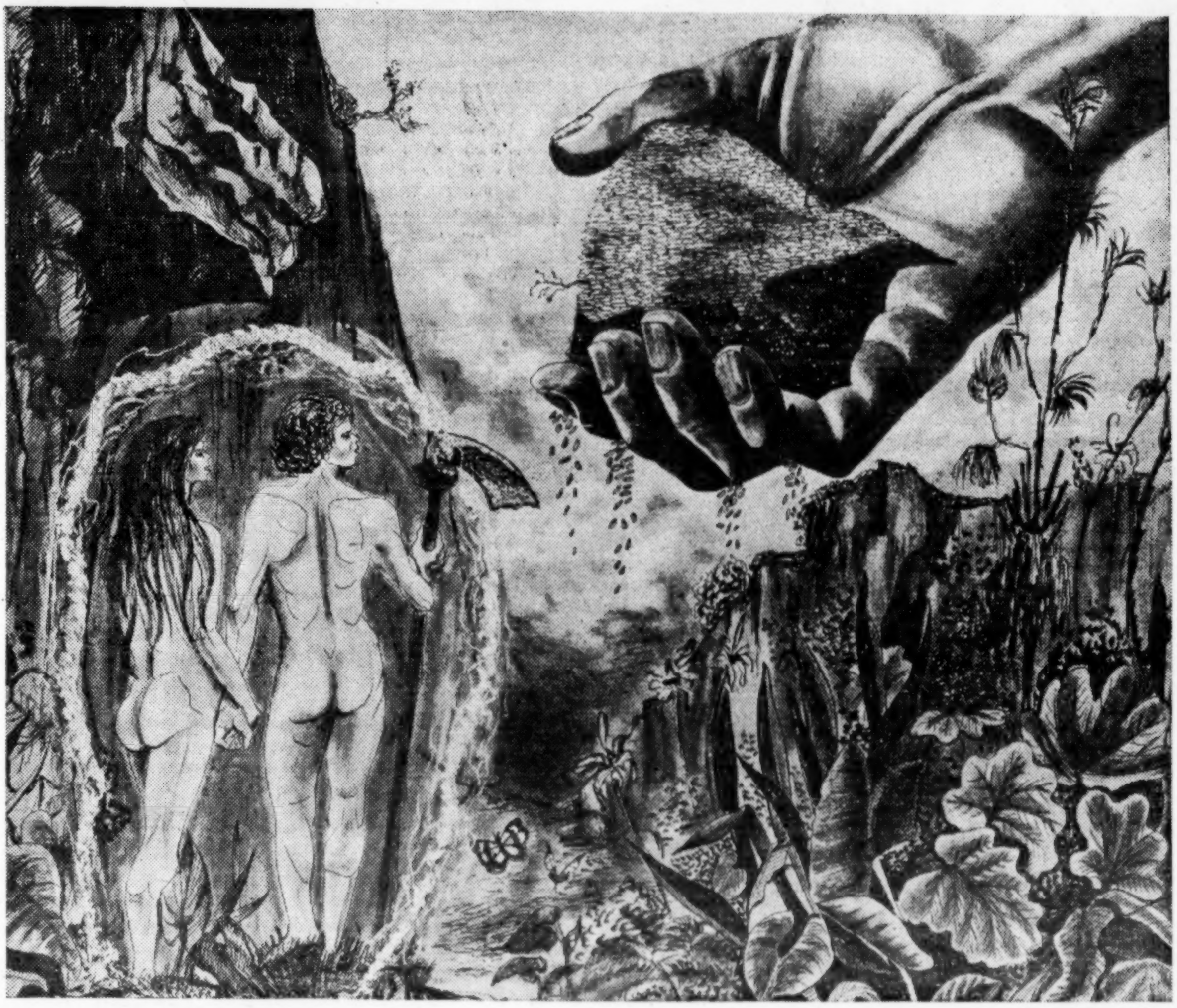
A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

IV. The fight for Brotherhood

Branded a "red" because of his help to miners and sharecroppers, and deprived of his Paris, Ark., pastorate in the depth of the depression, Claude Williams appealed his case to higher Presbyterian bodies. Meanwhile he remained in the Paris manse, continuing his work with the poor.

> For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.—PAUL



Gen. 1:27-28—"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it. . . . And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." A lecture chart of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. (Drawing by Milton Wynne).

TO carry on his work now the preacher did not need his church position, except for one thing: he and his family needed to eat, and without his pastorate he could not get even the reduced allowance which the Board of Missions had been paying him.

The money from the sale of his last insurance policy was almost gone. Not a kopek had come in from Moscow. He did not know how he would provide for the children. He could not help worrying over this, but he did not have much time for thinking about it. It was more Joyce's worry, but she did not want to impede the work and she managed to be casual about it. She was getting used to living from day to day and keeping calm.

As for the children, only Claudera the baby was still unconscious of the storms beating against the manse and the family. At school, Constance and Cornelia were allowed no illusions as to the kind of father they had drawn. They heard that he was a nigger-lover, a bolshevik, a lunatic, a devil in human guise.

By a mature and dignified instinct, they gave him no hint of the share of the family load which they in their children's world had to carry. Yet the fact that they had it to carry was plain enough from the rapturous delight they showed when someone respectable actually agreed with Claude on some issue. One day Constance had rushed in from school fairly wriggling with delight, flung herself at him and cried:

"Daddy, my teacher believes like you do about the Indians!"

WITH the fifth year of world crisis now well advanced, Claude was so close to the pain of the people that his personal economic crisis rushed to its final phase half unnoticed.

One of the church board members, meeting Claude on the street, said: "We're going to starve you out." Another eviction notice came in September, and he ignored it. By the same mail he received an official nomination from the Arkansas Socialist Party as its candidate for Governor.

His suit against the board for $2,000 in back salary was not due to be heard until January. A group of Commonwealth students made it known that, if an attempt were made to evict the preacher, they would come and picket the manse; if his belongings were set out in the street, they would set them right back in. Claude announced that on the day of eviction, if the board went through with it, he would have an all-day picnic on the manse lawn to which all the miners, farmers and young people would be invited. There was no eviction.

BACK in Paris after attending the conference of Younger Churchmen of the South at Chattanooga, the first job Claude had to do was to preach the funeral of a ten-months-old baby, who died of pneumonia and colitis from inadequate food. It was a sermon no other minister cared to preach. The baby's father was doing relief work and receiving $9.60 a month to support a family of four. Claude said it was not the will of God that the baby should die, nor was it the work of some horned devil. It was a clear case of murder, and millions of other babies in America were being similarly murdered by the profit system.

A box of groceries from a Rabbi in Nashville had kept the family going while Claude was away in Chattanooga. He realized how lucky he was, having such friends. Christmas was approaching, and some of the young folk came to decorate the manse and play Santa Claus to the children. Somebody sent a $10 bill. A check for $12 came from Willard Uphaus of the Religion and Labor Foundation in Connecticut.

The children had a happy Christmas Day, and Claude and Joyce were able to send off a box of clothes to Claude's mother and father and aunts, who were reduced to great privations. In the afternoon Montgomery Bird, a Negro of 73, came by with a sack containing turnips and dried peas.

"I didn't have a thing to bring but sentiment," said the old man. "And I thought I'd just bring it along in a sack."

ON New Year's Day there was enough for quite a dinner. One of the miners' locals had sent a New Year present of $5. Claude borrowed a car to go for some of the old men in the Old Folks' Home and bring them back to share the dinner. At first the old men did not want to come in the rags which were all they had to wear. Three of them had no shirts, and they were very dirty because the Home had no bath. One of them was blind, and broke down at the table because of his helplessness. Claude gave them what clothes he had. He had two spare shirts, and he took off the one he was wearing and gave it to the third shirtless man so that each should have one.

A young fellow came in later on and wanted to give Claude 15c.

"I just want to give it," he said.

Claude would not take it, and as he was leaving the young man said:

"I'll pick you a load of coal down by the mine and send it. I just want to send it."

"We're all right," Claude said. "We keep warm."

"I want to send it. I'd been wanting all my life to hear the things you've been saying."

IN the second week of the New Year the Circuit Court considered the red preacher's claim against the Presbyterian church board for unpaid salary amounting to $2,299.

Claude told the jury of Southern Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Cumberlanders and Holy Rollers that Dr. Wilson, the chief under whom he had worked, had admonished Synod to see the debt was paid. He showed that Synod had not denied the money was justly owing.

This ended the case for which the preacher had come to court. There was no further mention of any debt owing to him.

Witnesses were brought who claimed they had actually seen the preachers' Communist Party card, and who swore he had said Jesus was a bastard and had taught their children free-love and nudism.

The attorney said:

"Just tell this jury of honest God-fearing men what is your position on Jonah?"

"I accept that story as a parable cloaking significant truths. Here was a man who thought he was superior to everyone else. He got a lesson that taught him differently. There's truth in the story."

"Now tell the jury straight. Do you or do you not believe in the Virgin Birth?"

"It doesn't make any difference to me whether Jesus was born of a virgin or not. He was more than an ordinary man. People who knew him recognized him as a superior type. He was a big man."

Now the attorney brought his face close to the preacher's on the witness-stand and shouted:

"Didn't you have niggers eat at your table while you were pastor?"

"Yes, I did. And I was careful to pull up the shades."

The jury gasped. The attorney recovered his balance as if he had received a violent blow in the face.

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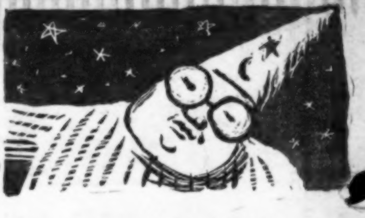
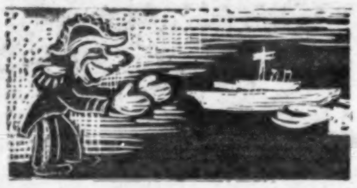
5th INSTALLMENT
NEXT WEEK

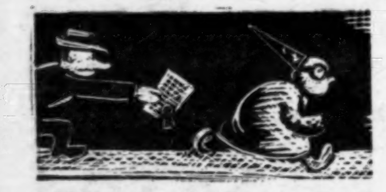
The Predictions of Nostradugan





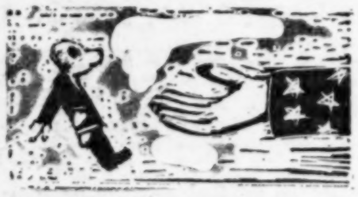
January

UNDER **Janus,** while the earth is in perihelion, I predict that an Admiral will demand battleships. I further predict that he will be given battleships and a small aircraft carrier to quiet him, while you could use a couple of bucks and so could Old Nostradugan. I predict the U. S. Congress will meet shortly after the second Sunday of Epiphany and, by **Septuagesima,** which marks the Conversion of St. Paul, gambling will break out in Minneapolis.



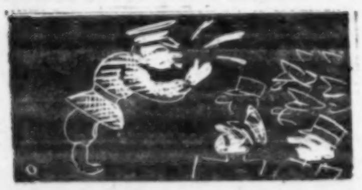
February

IN **Februa,** the Roman Festival of Purification, I see the Marshall Empire noting its hegemony by ritual purification of anti-Royalist Greeks and by subpoenaes from the un-American Committee. There will be a gambling scandal in basketball and a St. Bernard dog will mother some kittens.



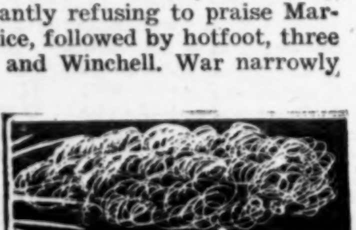
March

MARS, god of war, will usher in an increased war budget, and on Lent's Fourth Sunday homely girls will give up men, thereby setting an inimitable example to the armed forces. On the Ides of March, I predict the taxpayer will wish he was a battleship, or at least a jeep, that public moneys should be spent on him. I predict a President will go upon his third holiday of the year and a Mayor of New York on his fourth. Saturn is in conjunction with the Moon: a movie actor will strike a cab-driver in front of the Stork Club.



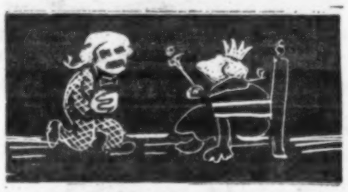
April

APERIRE means **to open.** Ball players go to the sun. Rickey fears Sox, Boudreau praises Yankees. Crisis in Berlin, caused by Soviet officer flagrantly refusing to praise Margaret Truman's voice, followed by hotfoot, three Sokolsky columns and Winchell. War narrowly averted.



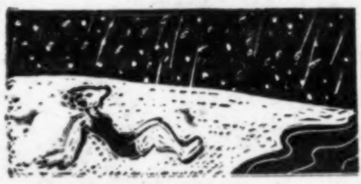
May

MAIA, Goddess of growth and increase, overcomes evil influence of April in which wars start, but has to listen to Churchill gassing into her own time. Everybody will go into television, the new name for not working. **Life** magazine says Chiang Kai-Check must be saved at all costs. Chiang Kai-Check is rescued and becomes Senior **Time** Editor.



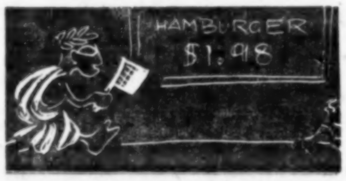
June

JUNIUS marks the birthday of George III, who piddled away the American colony. Good thing, too. Otherwise, Old Nostradugan would have to predict that Dewey would be the next Conservative Prime Minister. On the 15th instant, 1215, the Magna Carta was signed, which has taken the Un-American Committee only 733 years to abrogate. This month I predict a motion picture actress will be suspended by a studio. I see victories by guerrillas in Greece, followed by more ERP mazuma in an unfavorable conjunction with Mars.



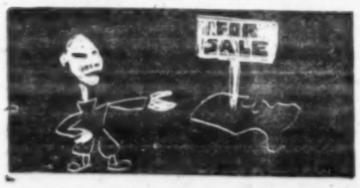
July

JULIUS CAESAR. On Old Midsummer Day I seem to see snowstorms, but that could be wrong. You can't hit these things all the time. Old Nostradugan hires nobody to question anybody and distrusts charts and telephones, but has been known to err. Anyhow, Earth is in aphelion, 94,500,000 miles from the Sun. Does that make the Sun happy? No, it does not. Forrestal still has the atom bomb. Un-American Comm. will produce documents proving that Hiss shot Lincoln.



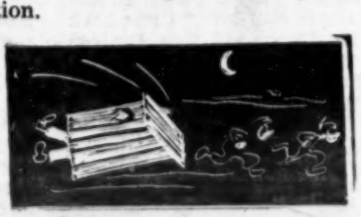
August

AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Julius' dumb relation, loused up Mark Antony, not a bad guy. Fourth birthday of the atom folly, and of Velasquez the 349th. One vote for Velasquez. I see terrible omens this month: hamburger will fall three cents a pound despite all efforts of Administration, Congress, and Interior Secretary Chiang Kai-Check. Vacations for Truman and O'Dwyer, after no holidays for over two weeks.



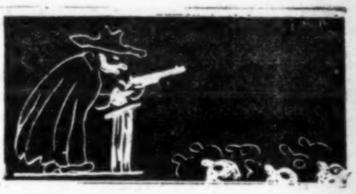
September

SEPTEM. Venus is at greatest western elongation, so is international politics. I predict Secretary of Interior C. K.-Check will be caught trying to sell Teapot Dome to Henry Luce. The Un-American Committee will prove that Alger Hiss kidnapped Charlie Ross—the White House Press Secretary, I mean. Notre Dame football coach will predict poor season, claiming team is less than infantry division strength, not nearly as big as Army. Old Nostradugan makes joke instead of prediction.



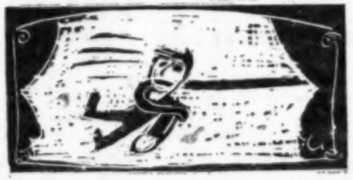
October

OCTO. Venus in conjunction with Moon: Nostradugan predicts this will be banned in Boston. Children will disguise themselves and sneak out of the house on Hallowmas Eve, 549 years and seven days after the death of Chaucer. They will upset backhouses, unaware that Free Enterprise has installed a bathroom in every American home. O'Truman and Dwyer will find time for well-earned vacations this month, from which they will be fetched back by crises.



November

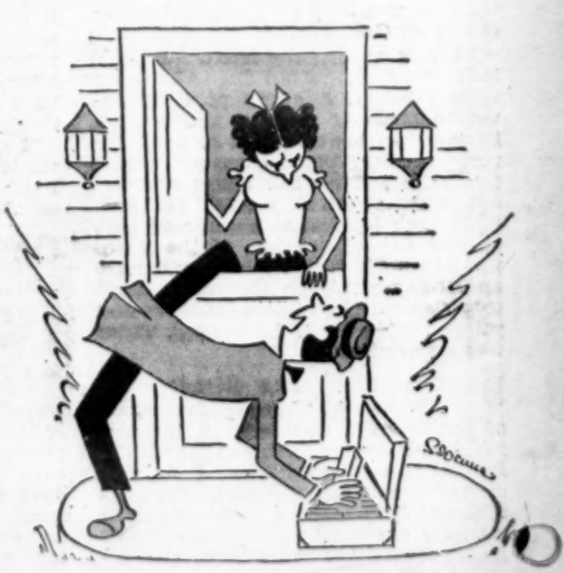
NOVEM means ninth, but that's crazy. Old Nostradugan takes shoes off and counts 11 months, predicts you could do same. The highway robber Jack Sheppard died this month in 1724, too early to run for Congress and too late to meet Old Parr, dead now in 1635 at the age of 152. I forecast meteorological phenomena, wrestling on television, sad reverses among college football teams, and a crisis in Berlin which will bring O'Duman and Tryer back from their vacations.



December

DECEM. When the 12th month is named afte the Latin word for ten, what do you w from Old Nos-- predictions? Okay, the insufi able old jerko will try. Take the 20th for i stance, the 300th anniversary of the suppressio of plays in England. Do you think the tercentenary will be observed here? I say it will. A moldy Saroyan play, produced by Leland Hayward, the Theatre Guild, the Playwrights Company, Rodgers & Hammerstein, and Oscar Serlin, called **Life With Me** will be banned in Boston. I furthermore asseverate and predict that Old Nos will be studying his plastic ball to find equally nice prognostications for 1950, which, by the way, is the centenary of Ruhmkorff's invention of the magneto-electric induction coil.

—James Dugan



"Now then, perhaps I can interest Madam in . . ."